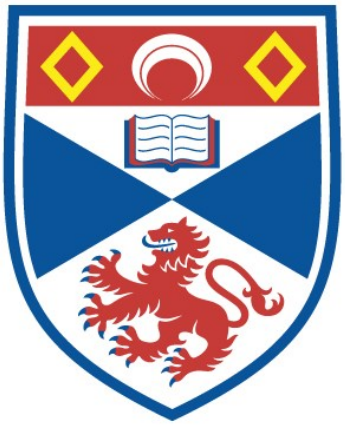
# A STUDY OF SCOTLAND'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE AS DEPICTED IN THE WORK OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM AND JOHN BUCHAN

Kirsti Wishart

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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# A Study of Scotland's Relationship to the British Empire as Depicted in the Work of Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan

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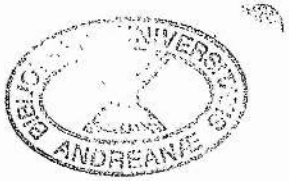



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# Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between Scotland and the British Empire as depicted in the work of three Scottish writers: Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan. The aim is to reassess the contribution these three writers made to Scottish literature, a contribution that has been neglected due to their interest and participation in imperial matters. The introduction discusses why their reappraisal within Scottish literary studies matters in relation to an understanding of the effect of Scotland's position within the Empire. Recent post-colonial theory relating to hybridity and the uncanny are shown to be of particular relevance to the Scottish situation in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century literature.

Chapter One examines the work of Robert Louis Stevenson and argues that, far from capitulating to the demands of imperialist literature, Stevenson was able both to work within the discourse of the British Empire and to subvert it. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, discussed in Chapter Two, occupies a similar position. Due to the genre-defying nature of his work Graham has been overlooked as a writer who confuses the boundaries between here and there, the savage and the civilised. Chapter Three provides a critical reassessment of John Buchan and argues that, despite his staunch imperialism, as a Scot within the Empire Buchan shared many thematic concerns with the other two writers in this study. The conclusion draws attention to the similarities between the three writers and argues that a clear break cannot be made between writers associated with the Empire and writers of the Scottish Renaissance.

# Declaration

i. I, Kirsti Wishart, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 98,884 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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ii. I was admitted as a research student in September, 1996 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September, 1997; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1996 and 2000.

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iii. I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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I owe very special thanks to my Mum, Dad and sister Beth who have helped put this thesis into perspective by providing the space and time in which thinking about Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan was not compulsory. This thesis is dedicated to them.

# List of contents

## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| (*AC*) | *The African Colony* |
| (*ALW*) | *A Lodge in the Wilderness* |
| (*F*) | *Faith* |
| (*G*) | *Greenmantle* |
| (*H*) | *Hope* |
| (*HT*) | *Huntingtower* |
| (*JM*) | *John Macnab* |
| (*MA*) | *Mogreb-el-Acksa* |
| (*MS*) | *Mister Standfast* |
| (*NG*) | *The Conquest of the New Granada* |
| (*Notes*) | *Notes on the District of Menteith* |
| (*R*) | *Redeemed* |
| (*RP*) | *The Conquest of the River Plate* |
| (*TNS*) | *The Thirty-nine Steps* |
| (*TS*) | *Thirteen Stories* |
| (*TWBTT*) | *The Watcher by the Threshold* |
| (*VA*) | *A Vanished Arcadia* |
| (*WW*) | *Witch Wood* |

# Introduction: A Scottish Empire?

> [...] imperial Scotland. What a strange ring they have, these words in conjunction. They evoke no memories; they call up no mental images; they stir no pulse. They fall meaningless upon the ear, a paradox with a plain implication of absurdity. By an effort, sense may be given to them, but to the normal ear they lack all meaning. It is, no doubt, because of this that in all the vast bibliography of Empire there are to be found so few attempts to do justice to this theme.[1]

Little has changed since 1937 when the controversial lawyer and right-wing Scottish nationalist Andrew Dewar Gibb attempted to 'assess the part played in the building up of the Empire by the nation which for over two hundred years has laboured and fought and dared alongside England.'[2] Only in recent years, through the work of historians John M. MacKenzie and Richard Finlay, has the effect of Scotland's involvement with the British Empire on the Scottish national identity begun to be explored.[3] Although the influence of Scotland on the development of the Empire has been examined in great depth, as MacKenzie has pointed out, the same cannot be said in relation to the effect of the Empire on Scotland. As he states, 'The influence of Scotland on the Empire [...] has generally had a much better press than the effects of the Empire on Scotland'.[4] Studies of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Scottish literature confirm this view by remaining largely silent on the topic of the Empire. While there are many historical examinations of emigration and the position of Scots within trade and colonial administration, within the field of Scottish literary and cultural studies there exists a notable lacuna. When the topic *is* brought up, as will be demonstrated below, it is dealt with in resolutely negative terms as part of the process of anglicisation that

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[1] Andrew Dewar Gibb, *Scottish Empire* (London: Maclehose, 1937), p.4.
[2] Ibid., p.3.
[3] Richard Finlay, *A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union since 1880* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), pp.12-40.
Richard Finlay, 'The rise and fall of popular imperialism in Scotland 1850-1950', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* vol. 113, No.1, (1997),pp. 13-21.
John MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire', *The International History Review* XV, (1993), pp.661-680.
[4] John MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire', p.721.

Scotland experienced in the nineteenth century. This has led to the serious neglect of the imaginative response that took place during a period of Scotland's history when Scots achieved international renown and were in no small part responsible for Britain achieving world economic and political domination while remaining at one remove from the Anglo-Saxon racial triumphalism that powered forward 'England's' Empire.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century as Scotland experiences the greatest level of self-government for some three hundred years it may seem at the very least churlish to draw attention to a period of Scotland's history that remains a source of embarrassment and shame. Gone is the pride expressed in wave after wave of publication during the nineteenth century detailing the achievements of Mungo Park, Mary Slessor and David Livingstone. As Richard Finlay notes:

> ...today one might be forgiven for thinking that Scotland was more of a colonised rather than a *colonising* nation as the Scottish imperial past has been buried under numerous theories of 'underdevelopment' and 'internal colonialism' which purport to show that the relationship with England has been parasitic to Scotland...Furthermore, the legacy of an imperial past sits uneasily with the Scots' claim that they are an inherently egalitarian and democratic nation.[5]

The demands made by Hugh MacDiarmid on writers of the interwar period to forget their literary forebears of the latter half of the nineteenth century have led to the continued assumption that it was only when the ties of Empire began to loosen and the call for dominion independence intensified that Scotland found the self-confidence to assert a strong national identity independent of its more powerful neighbour. MacDiarmid's determination to prove the claim that Scotland had been 'at a literary standstill for the best part of a century' and the adoption of the phrase 'Scottish Renaissance' for a disparate group of writers have contributed greatly to the belief that, while Scotland achieved world-wide renown imperially, culturally it was moribund and stagnant.[6] For literary critics and cultural historians the Empire

[5] Richard Finlay, 'The rise and fall of popular imperialism in Scotland 1850-1950', p.13.
[6] Hugh MacDiarmid, *Contemporary Scottish Studies* Alan Riach (ed.) (Manchester: Carcanet, 1995), p.344.

had a uniformly detrimental effect on the Scottish national development. In the wake of the Second World War when the racial bombast and assumed superiority of the British Empire was slowly eroded by the increasing confidence and independence of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., Scottish critics, as this introduction will demonstrate, were to be weighed down both by the guilt of Scotland's imperial legacy and frustration at the lack of political self-determination. As a result most literary critics and historians have been content to present a resolutely negative depiction of Scotland's imperial past.

The opportunities created overseas by the expansion of the Empire have been blamed for a drain of talent, the deformities of the Kailyard and the lack of a coherent form of political nationalism. Rather than the inter-relationship between Scotland's imperial and national identity, one sustaining the other thereby ensuring Scotland achieved international renown while remaining distinct from England, the relationship has been characterised as one of loss and of absence. As Finlay notes acutely, 'much ink has been spilled on what did *not* happen rather than what *did.*'[7] David Craig's *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People* in the chapter entitled 'Emigration' offers an important example of the inferiorist interpretation of Scotland's Empire that followed on from the criticism of MacDiarmid.[8] Craig writes:

> During the 19th century the country was emptied of the *majority* of its notable literary talents - men who, if they had stayed, might have thought to mediate their wisdom through the rendering of a specifically Scottish experience.[9]

Craig suggests the impossibility of a travelling Scot conveying a 'specifically Scottish experience' and that to be considered a truly authentic Scottish writer it is necessary to remain within Scotland's geographical boundaries. The bleak consequences of emigration for Scottish culture and the supposed inability of émigré writers to maintain literary contact with their home country is summed up in the chapter's final paragraph. The passage is worth

[7] Richard Finlay, 'The rise and fall of popular imperialism in Scotland 1850-1950', p.16.
[8] David Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), pp. 273-293.
[9] Ibid., p.276.

quoting at length for the way in which it connects the travels of Scottish writers with the image of a schizophrenic, incomplete culture left behind:

> It is a mark of the uncertain foothold for a national literature in Scotland that this weak ground of nostalgia should crop up in so many places. Emigration of our most notable talents thus both creates gaps in the imaginative records of the country and tempts our writers into indulgence of their weaker sides...What again and again weakens them (apart from individual flaws of talent) is the feeling that the ground in their country is shifting under their feet, and this perhaps gets worse the greater the determination to *have* a national vantage-point, to take up one's stance inside exclusively Scottish territory. It is for this reason among others that one comes to think that a freer spirit, facing up more openly to experience at large whatever its origins, might better enable the Scottish writer to cope with the problems of this place at this time.[10]

Craig's argument damns Scots whether they decide to leave or to remain. He castigates those writers who stayed for not taking up the opportunities grasped by their expatriate contemporaries. He appears to suggest that had they looked abroad to gain a wider cultural perspective their artistic endeavours might have succeeded yet those who did adopt a cosmopolitan outlook and ventured abroad exist only as a gap within 'the imaginative records of the country'. By studying the work of Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan this thesis will suggest that the sense of uncertainty regarding what it meant to be Scottish was a genuine advantage to those writers who found themselves writing about cultures very different from their own. Their work is characterised by depictions of a shifting world in which moral or geographical certainties are far from certain, the sense that 'the ground in their country is shifting under their feet' proving to be a source of creative strength. Rather than promoting a hegenomic ideology their appreciation of Scotland's heterogenity and what can be termed the 'hybrid' nature of the Scot within the Empire brought about a sympathetic understanding of peoples usually absent from the grand narrative of British imperialism. Examining their work therefore enables the dialectic between home

[10]Ibid., p. 293.

and abroad to be established, occupying an 'in-between' space between the two, demonstrating how one could influence the other. This thesis will also detail the complexity of Scotland's relationship with the Empire and how such figures as Stevenson, Graham and Buchan offer a valuable alternative perspective on Scottish national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

One of the problems afflicting the discussion of the intellectual and imaginative consequences of the Scottish diaspora is suggested by Cairns Craig's discussion of Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities'.[11] Anderson's analysis of novels and newspapers as providing the imaginative 'glue' for a nation has been misinterpreted by critics who interpret certain communities as 'imagined' in the sense of living by 'false' myths which lack an authentic, historical basis for their existence. The emphasis Anderson places on the connection between the imaginative depiction of a country and its sense of nationhood accounts for the remarkable degree of critical attention paid to the Kailyard phenomenon of the late nineteenth century as without government it is assumed that it was only through literature that Scotland could define itself. The writers associated with the Kailyard are castigated for promoting an inauthentic Scotland rather than simply one nationally-defining myth among many. The anxiety that Scotland was not an authentic nation has resulted in the Scottish writers who wrote for emigrant audiences bearing the brunt of nationalist criticism. The extent to which the literary outpourings of late nineteenth century Scotland has taken precedence over historical analysis of Scottish society to ascertain the degree of national self-confidence is demonstrated by Tom Nairn's highly influential *The Break-up of Britain* (1977).[12] Nairn's discussion of the absence of Scottish political nationalism focuses on the Kailyard phenomenon, popular fiction that depicted a comfortingly sentimental view of Scotland. As in the case of David Craig, Nairn links the development of Kailyard literature to

[11] Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), p.12.
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).
[12] Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: crisis and neo-nationalism* (London: NLB, 1977).

emigration stating 'Kailyard was - and still is - very much the reverse coin of emigration.'[13] Andrew Nash has demonstrated the extent to which Kailyard has been used as a loosely defined critical term, the overuse of which has led to the neglect of Victorian authors who have been assumed to display the faults associated with the popular Kailyard writers. [14] While there were many authors who sought to feed the demand for comforting images of the homeland to nostalgic émigrés, accusing Stevenson, as David Craig does, of a debilitating nostalgia only serves to disguise the extent to which his feelings towards Scotland, particularly to the Highlands, enabled him to enter the political arena of Samoa.[15] As a result his Scottish historical fiction gained a new urgency, a new appreciation of the demands made on the individual by political forces. The work of R. B. Cunninghame Graham further demonstrates the way in which the nostalgia for a lost Scottish past could become a politically-motivating force. As a land-owning laird who would become one of the founding members of the Labour party, Graham was well aware of the slow decline of the Scottish countryside. In his travel writing his personal experience of the destructive potential of modernisation allows for a close identification with ways of life which face extinction through colonial development. Nairn, not a literary critic, is content to generalise, using the accusation of nostalgia to damn nineteenth-century Scottish society. During the nineteenth century:

> what could the intelligentsia do? Its natural posture came to seek work outside, but at the same time (aware of its distinct origins and history) to look constantly backwards and inwards, in a typical vein of deforming nostalgia - constantly confirming a false, 'infantile' image of the country quite divorced from its 'real problems'.[16]

By holding the development of political nationalism in the rest of Europe as the only acceptable standard for a successful national identity Nairn fails to appreciate the unique

[13] Ibid., p.161.
[14] Andrew Nash *Kailyard, Scottish Literary Criticism and the Fiction of J. M. Barrie*, Ph.D Thesis, St Andrews, 1998.
[15] David Craig, p.288.
[16] Tom Nairn, p.161.

position of Scotland within the British Empire. Paradoxically, this framework prevented Scotland from being subsumed into an English Empire. Scots did not attempt to break away from England because they felt no need to do so; they had retained important elements of the state apparatus and could freely enjoy the benefits of Empire as richly demonstrated by the fine civic architecture that appeared in every Scottish High Street financed by the huge success of Scottish heavy industry. Had the situation been closer to that experienced by the Creoles of South America, as described by Benedict Anderson, whose frustration at being refused civil service positions by their Spanish governors led to the development of South American nationalism, then the situation might have been different.[17] However, as Linda Colley has suggested, while Scots may have faced that level of discrimination in London they had the opportunity to shine abroad for the British Empire.[18]

Christopher Harvie in *Scotland and Nationalism*, published in 1977, the same year as *Break-up of Britain*, takes a more subtle approach to imperial Scotland, hinting at the careful negotiations Scots made within the Empire in order to take full advantage of its opportunities while maintaining an identity distinct from that of England. Writing on the Scottish diaspora he notes:

> If the 'nation of twenty millions' was a myth, it was an important one. It preserved, within the imperial experience, a degree of cultural continuity that ultimately survived it. At one level it endorsed the Union, which had made such colonisation possible; at another it called the Union into question: if the Scots could govern colonies, why couldn't they govern Scotland?[19]

The popular, much derided Kailyard novels therefore played an important role in sustaining a national identity maintained abroad that fed back into Scotland, thereby ensuring the country was not transformed into 'North Britain'. Harvie suggests the paradoxical, self-questioning

[17] Benedict Anderson, pp.47-65.
[18] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Vintage, 1996), p.132.
[19] Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 - 1977* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), p.102.

position of the Scot within the Empire. His analysis is borne out by the ambivalence towards imperialism found throughout the writing of Stevenson, Graham and Buchan. Yet Harvie remains in thrall too much to the trope of a divided and schizophrenic culture to further develop this sense of imperial ambiguity. By dividing the Scots up into two defining tribes he maintains the image of a split Scotland:

> The red Scots were cosmopolitan, self-avowedly enlightened and, given a chance, authoritarian, expanding and exploiting bigger and more bountiful fields than their own country could provide. Back home lurked their black brothers, demotic, parochial and reactionary, but keeping the ladder of social promotion open, resisting the encroachments of the English governing class.[20]

Rather than the interchange between home and abroad suggested within the body of *Scotland and Nationalism* the split between 'red' and 'black' holds more appeal for later critics of Scotland's Empire. Alan Riach's Introduction to Hugh MacDiarmid's *Contemporary Scottish Studies* emphasizes the supposedly repressive, divisive legacy of Scotland's imperial past.[21] As a result Riach reifies the supposition that it was only with the arrival of the writers of the Scottish Renaissance and the loosening of imperial ties as the Empire slowly transformed into the Commonwealth that Scots were able to challenge the dominant discourse of imperialism. According to Riach Scots both 'became invisible and...internationally recognisable in stereotypes and caricatures', members of its artistic community becoming 'exiled from their own national identity' and 'became bulwarks of the British establishment while an incalculable number of Scots became both the victims and the perpetrators of the Empire itself.'[22] Riach's argument affords Victorian writers associated with imperialism no middle ground - they cannot occupy an in-between state but are *either* invisible *or* stereotypes, victims *or* perpetrators. Yet, as Colley points out of the successful

[20] Ibid., p.17.
[21] Alan Riach, 'Demolition Man: An Introduction to *Contemporary Scottish Studies*' in *Contemporary Scottish Studies*, pp.vii-xxxi.
[22] Ibid., p.viii.

Scots of the early nineteenth century, they rarely 'regarded themselves as stooges of English cultural hegemony. Far from succumbing helplessly to an alien identity imposed by others, in moving south they helped construct what being British was all about.'[23] The idea that Victorian writers similarly might have been well aware of these apparent paradoxes and have commented intelligently upon their situation is denied by Riach. The chapters of this thesis focusing on Stevenson and Graham complicate these binary oppositions which are curiously similar to the Manichean ideology that propels imperialism. Rather than becoming 'exiled' from their national identity their Scottishness greatly informed their descriptions of other lands. Their knowledge of the stereotypical Scot also enabled them to play with images associated with Scotland, commenting on the supposed 'orientalisation' of their home country while attempting not to do the same to alien cultures.

Allen MacGillivray's essay on Scots who wrote about their exploits in the far reaches of the Empire in the early part of the nineteenth century is a rare study on the exact nature of the writing of Scots involved with the business of Empire.[24] MacGillivray draws attention to one of the reasons for this neglect when he states of the writings left by colonial adminstrators, travellers and missionaries 'Whether or not what most of them wrote was literature in the accepted sense is arguable.'[25] Within Scottish literary studies restrictive definitions have meant that the travel journals of those who ventured to the furthest reaches of the Empire are considered worthy of historical but not literary analysis. This accounts for the neglect of a writer like R. B. Cunninghame Graham who offers a fascinating perspective on the way in which his sense of Scottishness affected his interpretation of foreign lands and vice versa; his experiences in Morocco, South America, North America and Spain inevitably influenced his perspective on Scotland. Robert Louis Stevenson's travel writings on the South Seas relate directly to his later novels while causing the reader to become increasingly sensitive to the anthropological insights he brings to Scotland in his earlier novels. John

[23] Linda Colley, pp.130-1.
[24] Allen MacGillivray, 'Exile and Empire' in Cairns Craig (ed.) *The History of Scottish Literature Volume 4 Twentieth Century* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp.411-427.
[25] Ibid., p.413.

Buchan's early study, *The African Colony* (1903),[26] suggests how a Scot committed to British imperialism might offer a variation on the predominant English creed of imperialism and colonialisation. However, although MacGillivray ends his brief study with an assertion of the need to recover these writers, he reiterates the inferiorist attitudes towards the literary imperial Scot suggested by Riach.[27] He contends that ultimately the writing of John Galt, Alexander MacKenzie and David Livingstone is hampered by the need of Scots to subsume their identity as Scots in their writing. They

> contained no awareness of Scottishness as anything more than a continuing aberration within an English pattern of culture and nationality. Even David Livingstone could speak of 'my principles as an Englishman'. No doubt this is to be deplored, but it is a fact that cannot be argued around. There may be an argument that Scots today might wish to develop, that in some way this separation of self from national or cultural roots vitiated the expression, diminished the writing, produced the same visible malaise as can be perceived in the Kailyard.[28]

As with previous critics MacGillivray is hampered by the determination to apply a modern definition of Scottishness, one that demands a clear cultural and political identity, to a time when claims of national allegiance could be rather more flexible than the requirements of modern critics. Scots involved in the business of Empire - even despite or perhaps *because* of the rise of Scottish nationalist feeling towards the end of the nineteenth century - saw no real contradiction between referring to themselves as Scottish, English or British. This does not mean they automatically forgot their formative culture or considered themselves lesser than the 'English' or 'British' but simply they saw their nationality as less strictly defined than today. The implied assertion, similar to the idea that travelling writers 'exiled' themselves from their national identity, that to be a successful writer it is necessary to remain and write in the place of one's birth is highly questionable, as the examples of T. S. Eliot, Joseph Conrad,

[26] John Buchan, *The African Colony: A Study in Reconstruction* (London: William Blackwood, 1903).
[27] MacGillivray states: 'The ebb-tide of history and political opinion has carried most of the writers dealt with here away from the consciousness of modern Scotland. It may be time that a new flow of thinking about their lives and writings should bring them back.'p. 425.
[28] Ibid., p.424.

Vladimir Nabokov and countless others attest. That this obvious point should be ignored demonstrates the extent to which the interpretation of Scottish emigration as emblematic of failure and loss has affected the critical analysis of late Victorian Scottish writers. Karl Miller suggests an alternative approach when, writing on Stevenson, he notes:

> For over a hundred and fifty years Scotland had been compounded with England, and by now there were Scottish writers who passed in the course of their lives into a condition of dual nationality. Those who came to London did not cease to be Scottish, and they brought with them a native interest in the inventions which sustain the double life.[29]

Scottish literary criticism suggests that it was only during the interwar period that Scottish writers began to achieve imaginative maturity by addressing directly either the realities of modern urban and rural Scotland or by providing a sense of history that suggested a reconnection with an older, more authentic Scotland, one free from the taint of imperialism. Neil Gunn, Lewis Grassic Gibbon and Naomi Mitchison produced novels that strongly promoted Scotland's 'otherness' from England and so from Empire. Chris Guthrie's deep emotional attachment to the ancient Standing Stones the *Sunset Song* (1932),[30] the Highland mysticism of Black Mairi in Gunn's *Butcher's Broom* (1934),[31] Mitchison's exploration of primitive magic in *The Bull Calves* (1947),[32] are indicative of an appreciation of the role of the mythic, the cyclical and the primitive as an alternative to the demands of Empire with its driving impulse towards progress and civilisation. By presenting a modern Scotland frequently at odds with modernity Scots are depicted as being capable of establishing a link to a mythological time thereby upsetting the progressive, linear concept of history associated with the imperialist endeavour. As Cairns Craig suggests writing on Gunn:

> History is what must be escaped [...]. The only way of escape is through those mythic memories that point beyond its

[29] Karl Miller, *Doubles: Studies in Literary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.215.
[30] Lewis Grassic Gibbon, *Sunset Song*, 1932 in *A Scots Quair*, Tom Crawford (ed.) (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995).
[31] Neil Gunn, *Butcher's Broom*, 1934 (London: Souvenir Press, 1977).
[32] Naomi Mitchison, *The Bull Calves*, 1947 (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1985).

> boundaries, the boundaries which history describes as the entry into savagery but which is, for Gunn, the exit from the savagery of historical civilisations.[33]

Rather than the whimsical escapes into fantasy enacted by Stevenson and Barrie, the writers of the Renaissance, through their reconnection to elements previously considered savage and barbaric, are depicted as carrying an implicit political message, offering a means of opposition to English cultural hegemony. As a result Scotland is positioned if not as colony then clearly distinct from the English imperial centre, realigning itself with those forces associated with other 'uncivilised' regions of the world. The work of Stevenson and Graham, however, demonstrates that a clear division cannot be made between the themes of writers associated with the late-nineteenth century and those concerned with the demands of modernism. David Trotter in an essay entitled 'Modernism and the Empire: reading *The Waste Land*' illustrates the close interconnection between Imperialist apocalyptic imagery and that of such modernists as Eliot and Lawrence.[34] The imagery and themes of John Buchan's shockers frequently confirm Trotter's thesis that it is impossible to separate writers associated with imperialism and the literary innovators of the twenties and thirties. In a similar manner, three writers who are often accused of not being Scottish enough due to their decision to live outside Scotland or because of their restless travelling can be shown to have a deep interest in the themes that proved of such importance to writers like Gunn and Mitchison: the relationship between myth and reality, the distinctions between the savage and the civilised, the potentially detrimental effects of modernity.

Cairns Craig in *The Modern Scottish Novel* (1999) offers a timely corrective to the suggestion that it is only by remaining within Scotland that Scottish writers could contribute usefully to Scottish culture. In his analysis of the work of the philosopher Alisdair MacIntyre he notes that, as with David Craig, 'MacIntrye identifies 'Scottish' with one particular strand

[33] Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), p.161.
[34] David Trotter, 'Modernism and the Empire: reading *The Waste Land*' in *Critical Quarterly*, vol.28 (1986), pp.143-153.

in cultural life, as though the culture's continuation depended on that aspect of tradition only'.[35] For David Craig, Nairn and Harvie those intellectuals who left mark the absence of that 'one particular strand in cultural life' which would have enabled Scotland to match their image of what Scotland *should* have been in the late nineteenth century. They ignore the possibility of a dialectic between those who leave and those who remain and the fact that no nation can exist in and of itself but rather defines itself in relation to others. As Edward Said has stated, 'imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale,' and so 'no one today is purely one thing.'[36] In *Out of History* Cairns Craig concentrates mainly on the nature of the dialogue between Scotland and England but the quotation below can be applied to the wider horizon of the Empire:

> all cultures, at all times, exist in a dialectic with other cultures, exist in the dialectic of spatial production. The peripheral culture is, in its fragmentation, just as much a culture as the core culture in its unity. The culture of the core is equally shaped - deformed - by the dialectic with its peripheries.[37]

His essay 'Novel, Nation and Tradition' elaborates on this theme suggesting that those intellectuals who emigrated 'can be read...as the Scotticising or Irishing of English culture rather than anglicization of Scottish and Irish culture.'[38] This thesis will demonstrate the veracity of this statement, illustrating the way in which the Scottish identity of the three writers studied enabled them to complicate, subvert and reimagine the ideologies associated with British imperialism. Recent critics, frequently drawing on Bakhtinian theory, have done much to reconfigure the supposed split within the Scottish psyche. The critic G. Gregory Smith's Caledonian antisyzygy rather than being interpreted as a negative attribute is slowly being recognised as an attempt to suggest a means of bringing together oppositional voices as Scottish authors throughout the centuries attempted to open out the definitions associated with

[35] Cairns Craig, p. 27.
[36] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.407.
[37] Cairns Craig, *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and British Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), p.117.
[38] Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*, p.29.

their national identity.[39] Rather than reinforcing the image of an incoherent, schizophrenic culture the rich variety of voices to be found within Scottish society, the dialogues between town and country, Highland and Lowland serve to challenge the dominant hegemony; instead variety and the possibilities offered by different perspectives are encouraged. This openness of approach, as this thesis will demonstrate, had repercussions for the literary treatment of other cultures considered less civilised by certain Scottish writers. By exploring their work our understanding of those writers who due to the nature of their writing and their decision to travel from Scotland have been classified as 'lost exiles' is enriched.

At a time when post-colonial theorists explore the complexities of the colonial relationship the preference of Scottish commentators to view the experience of imperial Scots in terms of binary opposition - Scots *either* as the colonised *or* the colonisers - appears increasingly outdated. Recent post-colonial theory has attempted to do away with a Manichean division between coloniser and colonised in order to explore the meeting points between cultures - the state of being 'in-between' as identified by Homi Bhabha or in a more literal sense the 'contact zone' as defined by Mary Louise Pratt.[40] Within Scottish literary criticism there have been notable exceptions, critics who have realised the potential of post-colonial theory to deepen our understanding Scotland's cultural condition. Michael Gardiner's thesis *Postcoloniality, Modernity and Scottish Cultural Identity* provides an extremely timely assessment of the ways in which the writings of Frantz Fanon, Homi Bhabha and Spivak can be applied within a Scottish context.[41] Berthold Schoene has also produced a series of articles that actively engage with the strengths and weaknesses of defining Scotland in post-colonial terms.[42] His subtle readings of the Highland Clearnaces as

[39] G. Gregory Smith, *Scottish Literature: Character and Influence* (London: Macmillan, 1919), p.4.
J. C. Bittenbender, *Beyond the Antisyzygy: Some Modern Scottish Authors* Ph.D. Thesis, St Andrews, 1996.

Robert Crawford, 'Bakhtin and Scotland', *Scotlands*, 1 (1994), pp.55-65.
[40] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.4.
Homi Bahbha, 'Locations of Culture' in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp.1-18.
[41] Michael Gardiner, *Postcoloniality, Modernity and Scottish Cultural Identity: models from literature and theory*, Ph.D Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2000.
[42] Berthold Schoene, 'Emerging as the Others of Our Selves: Scottish Multiculturalism and the Challenge of the Body in Postcolonial Representation', *Scottish Literary Journal* 25:1 (May, 1998), pp.54-72.

described in Fionn MacColla's *And The Cock Crew* and Iain Crichton Smith's *Consider the Lillies* demonstrate the possiblities either working with or working against the ideas of a theorist like Homi Bhabha can hold for a critic of Scottish critic.[43] Yet neither Gardiner or Schoene actively engages with the writings of Scottish authors at the time of Britain's imperial expansion.. Indeed Schoene, in his article'A Passage to Scotland', reinforces the views of those commentators who hold nineteenth century Scottish literature provides nothing of worth that could assist a reader today in understanding Scotland's imperial identity by stating

> Much of nineteenth century Scottish fiction, history and politics appear to have come to a complete standstill after the Union of Parliaments. English culture took over in Scotland and to be or become English was imperative for anyone who intended to get on in society.[44]

The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that, far from the view expressed above, writers associated with the Scottish imperial enterprise during the late-nineteenth century offer us rich and complex interpretations of Scotland's imperial identity.

Scotland occupied an unusual position within the Empire in that it was both centre *and* periphery, considered distinctly 'other' from the strongly Anglo-Saxon imagery associated with Empire. Throughout the nineteenth century racial theories were not applied to the detriment solely of non-white races but resulted in a strict racial hierarchy according to national and class lines. Following in the wake of Matthew Arnold's theories the Celtic races were considered very near the bottom of this hierarchy as the mass of anti-Irish literature produced at the time demonstrates. Yet the position of Scots within this racial league table is harder to define and despite their assumed Celtic ancestry Scots occupied an uncertain position within the racial scale. As Joseph A. Kestner suggests in his discussion of the depiction of Scottish soldiers in Victorian war paintings, 'the imagery of the Scot abroad

'A Passage to Scotland: Scottish Literature and the British Postcolonial Condition', *Scotlands* 2:1, 1995, pp.107-122.

[43] Schoene, 'The (Al)Location of Culture: Scottish Postcoloniality and the Twentieth-Century Highland Novel' in *Space and Place: The Geographies of Literature*, (eds.) Glenda Norquay and Gerry Smyth (Liverpool: John Moores University Press, 1997), pp.359-371.

[44] p.112

eliminates the stigma of their ethnicity, which would be felt in England.'[45] The hostility displayed towards the Irish - Michael Banton notes that 'in the English writing of the last three decades of the nineteenth century there is more racial abuse of the Irish than of the blacks' - it is understandable that many Scots would wish to distance themselves from a Celtic identity.[46] This defensiveness remained through to the interwar years in which Andrew Dewar Gibb could assert that Ulster was the only truly successful Scottish colony because the 'colonists kept together and did not intermarry with the Irish. They were of a superior race and they meant to keep that race pure.'[47] While Richard Finlay and John Mackenzie are correct to draw attention to the positive aspects of Scotland's Empire, this thesis will explore the frequently unsettling and disruptive psychological consequences contact with the imperial frontier could have for the Scottish writer unsure of his racial pedigree. It should therefore come as no surprise that such a nation should produce a writer who with *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* created one of the defining myths of the colonial experience.[48] Even the most fervent Scottish imperialist, as the work of Buchan demonstrates, could feel at one remove from the imperialist cause resulting in questions that brought the assumed racial superiority of Britain into doubt.

The Scottish imperial experience therefore offers much for the field of postcolonial theory yet while modern Scottish writers - '*post*-colonial' in the sense of being considered as writing *after* Empire - receive such attention those writers associated with the golden age of British imperialism are ignored. Anne McClintock warns against the linear sense of historical development the term 'post-colonial' suggests.[49] There is the danger that modern readers will complacently assume that the reprehensible racist attitudes that supported imperialism have

[45] Joseph A. Kestner, 'The colonized in the colonies: representation of Celts in Victorian battle painting' in Shearer West (ed.) *The Victorians and Race* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp.113- 127., p.121.
[46] Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977), p.59.
[47] Andrew Dewar Gibb, pp.9-10.
[48] A.P. Thornton, 'Jekyll and Hyde in the Colonies' in *For the File on Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp.328-343.
[49] Anne McClintock, 'The angel of progress: pitfalls of the term 'postcolonialism' in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen (eds.) *Colonial discourse/postcolonial theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp.253-266.

been overcome while ignoring Victorian intellectuals who sought to oppose the dominant ideology. Recent critics, such as Daniel Binova and Patrick Brantlinger, have demonstrated the need for a more complex reading of Victorian and Edwardian imperialism.[50] The stereotypical image of the bombastic jingoist conceals the thoughtful, frequently anxious and guilt-ridden response of many writers who chose to face the challenge of the imperial frontier. Binova has demonstrated that the expansion of the British Empire, by bringing about contact with other cultures, resulted in a radical adjustment to Victorian epistemology. As knowledge of so-called 'savage' cultures increased, the possibility of a relativist view of the world threatened to destroy the concept of a racial hierarchy that sustained Britain's colonial authority. Central to this intellectual shift was the work of Scottish anthropologists such as W. Robertson Smith, Andrew Lang and, most notably, J. G. Frazer. Although Frazer's theories would later be used by the colonial authorities as a means of ensuring the control of native peoples, as Cairns Craig suggests, paradoxically they also served to upset the linear progression towards civilisation assumed by imperialist propaganda.[51] Instead, history was revealed as cyclical - Christianity simply adapting for its own purposes the myths of old - with the savage always lurking beneath the modern-day veneer of civilisation. All three of the writers discussed in this study were well-versed in then current anthropological theory. All had, to varying degrees of closeness, contact with Andrew Lang whose work also served to blur the boundaries between the civilised and the savage by demonstrating the connections between Western superstitions and the ways of 'primitive' peoples. The brutal transformation of the Scottish Highlands served as a clear indication of the close proximity of a so-called primitive culture and also served to unsettle the moral distinctions that were applied to the concepts of 'civilised' and 'savage'. Within this context the cultural trope of the 'double self' becomes emblematic less of a split but rather of a dialogue or a blurring between assumed opposites. Furthermore,

[50] Daniel Binova, *Desire and Contradiction: imperial visions and domestic debates in Victorian literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).
Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British literature and imperialism 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).
[51] Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*, pp.41-44.

Calvinism drove home the fact that the savage or sinful resided within and so the Other could not be regarded as geographically distant or racially distinct. The Scot can therefore be regarded as a 'hybrid' form within the Empire, capable of symbolising both the savage *and* the civilised. The cover of Helen Smailes' book cataloguing the exhibition entitled 'Scottish Empire' that took place in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1980 features Alexander Gardner, a character who illustrates the peculiarly hybridised nature of depictions of imperial Scots.[52] Claiming Scottish-American ancestry, Gardner was born in 1801 and spent much of his life as a mercenary. He travelled throughout Persia and Afghanistan before finding employ in the private army of Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Punjab. Singh had decided to form a European-style army in the hope of ensuring protection from an invading British or Afghan army. Eventually, Gardner could be said to have found employ on the 'right' side, that is under British protection, by serving as artillery commander for the Maharajah of Kashmir. His photogravure depicts a figure that matches the colourful description provided by a visitor to Kashmir who wrote:

> a most peculiar and striking appearance, clothed head to foot in the 79th tartan (the 79th Cameron Highlanders who were based in India), but fashioned by a native tailor. Even his pagri was made of tartan, and it was adorned with the egret's plume, only allowed to persons of high rank. I imagine he lived entirely in the native fashion: he was said to be wealthy and the owner of many villages.[53]

The suggestion that Gardner may have in fact been Irish adds an interesting twist to the tale. By choosing to display his claimed Scottishness so ostentatiously, Gardner is able to retain his air of exoticism while demonstrating his allegiance to the military might of the British Empire.

[52] Helen Smailes, *Scottish Empire: Scots in pursuit of Hope and Glory* (Edinburgh: HMSO,1981).
[53] Ibid., p.73.

Homi Bhabha has drawn attention to the hybrid as occupying an interstitial position within the discourse of imperialism.[54] Adapting Freud's definition of the uncanny as the moment when the 'frightening leads back to what is known of old and long familiar',[55] Bhabha positions the unsettling nature of the hybrid with its conflation of Self and Other. In his essay 'DissemiNation', drawing on Freud's essay 'The Uncanny', he writes of:

> a liminal, uncertain state of cultural belief when the archaic emerges in the midst or margins of modernity as a result of some psychic ambivalence or intellectual uncertainty. The 'double' is the figure most frequently associated with this uncanny process of 'the doubling, dividing and interchanging of the self.'[56]

This thesis will explore the concept of the 'uncanny Scot' by exploring the moments in the writing of Stevenson, Graham and Buchan when the familiar becomes the unfamiliar and vice versa. All display a concern with questions of hybridity, be it cultural or racial, and frequently include characters who serve to disrupt the binary oppositions of imperialism.[57]

Cairns Craig, in his essay 'The Body in the Kitbag', posits another way of interpreting such writers as Stevenson who appeared to evade the demands of realism for the childish escapism of romance, one that provides a greater sense of connection between the literary developments of the late nineteenth century and those of the early twentieth.[58] As Craig points out those critics who offer an inferiorist interpretation of a writer like Stevenson 'assume that the pattern of development of Scottish culture ought to be the same as English culture [...] that if the English novel is engaged with the issue of 'realism' so ought the

[54] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.13.
[55] Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', trans. James Strachey (ed.) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* vol. XVII (London: The Hogarth Press, 1955), pp.217-252, p.220.
[56] Homi K. Bhabha, 'DissemiNation' in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.) *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.291-322, p.295. quoting Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', p.234.
[57] The term 'hybridity' will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the dual or multiple identities available to the writers discussed due to culturally hybrid condition of the Scot. Unlike mixed race offspring, who could face racial discrimination due to the colour of their skin, as *cultural* hybrids the three writers discussed had the opportunity to slip between identities - be it the savage Scot or the gentrified Englishman - in a manner that could disrupt the safe polarities of imperial thought. For a full discussion of the subversive nature of the hybridity see Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture,* passim.
[58] Cairns Craig, 'The Body in the Kitbag' in *Out of History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), pp.31-63.

Scottish.'[59] Craig suggests that Scottish writers, feeling that Scotland lay outside an English concept of History shaped by its involvement with the development of the Empire, were concerned with what lay 'outside' history. As a result, by the end of the nineteenth century, 'the idyll of the Scottish 'romance' had to cope with a much darker vision, one that might use the instruments of 'romance' but did so in order not to escape from historical progress into a fanciful past, but precisely to challenge the bases on which the whole idea of history was founded.'[60] While Craig's work offers an extremely important means of re-interpreting neglected Scottish writers, by placing an emphasis on Scotland's otherness from England it can become easy to forget the extent to which Scotland was instrumental in ensuring not just England's but rather *Britain's* imperial success. Scots were capable of occupying an 'in-between' state, both of Empire and yet acutely concerned with elements that serve to complicate the binary divisions on which imperialism depended. While R. L. Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame and John Buchan appear to be escaping the realities of Scotland into the imaginative opportunities of Empire by writing about distant lands or by using the fantastic tropes of adventure they are in fact, to varying degrees, challenging the bases of Empire, exploring the 'uncanny' nature of the Scot within the Empire. Frequently, in such works as *Treasure Island* (1883), [61] Graham's *Mogreb-el-Acksa* (1898) [62] or Buchan's *Lodge in the Wilderness* (1906)[63] and many of his 'shockers', there can be discerned an 'in-between' stance in relation to the British Empire similar to that of the Scottish Renaissance writers who were concerned with existing between modernity and what lay beyond its boundaries. All three are able to work within the imperial discourse and at one remove. Such a position is typified by the following much-quoted passage from John Buchan's *Greenmantle* (1916):

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[59] Ibid., p.41.
[60] Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*, pp.42-43.
[61] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, 1883 Swanston Edition VI (London: Chatto & Windus. 1911-12).
[62] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Mogreb-el-Acksa: A Journey in Morocco*, 1898 (Vermont: The Marlboro Press, 1985).
[63] John Buchan, *A Lodge in the Wilderness*, 1906 (London: Nelson, 1922).

> We call ourselves insular, but the truth is that we are the only race on earth that can produce men capable of getting inside the skin of remote peoples. Perhaps the Scots are better than the English, but we're all a thousand per cent better than anybody else. [64]

The irony of this passage, frequently used to indicate the open-minded egalitarianism of imperial Scots, is that it was written by a man who rarely applied its call for sympathetic imagination to other races - to do so would have been to question fundamentally the assertions of the cause of imperialism and colonisation that Buchan supported throughout his life. Nevertheless, as I discuss further in the chapter relating to Buchan, it is critically complacent to ignore the possible implications for the interpretation of his work suggested by his belief that Scots *were* capable of 'getting inside the skin of remote peoples' in a manner distinct from their English contemporaries. Buchan's work displays surprising similarities with that of Stevenson and Graham in his frequently fearful but always curious exploration of the moments of cross-over between Here and There, savage and civilised, Self and Other.

The aim of this thesis is to explore in detail the writings of three Scots - Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan - who were closely involved in the business of Empire at a time when British imperial power reached its zenith. As will be revealed, rather than sublimating their national identity their Scottishness complicated and frequently enabled them to subvert the hegenomic imperial discourse. By examining their writing it is possible to chart the subtle shifts in identification between coloniser and colonised experienced by a Scot within the imperial framework. Furthermore, study of imperial and anti-imperial Scots offers a reinterpretation of the image of the 'Wandering Scot'. This can be used to challenge such negative assumptions as that Scottish emigration was indicative of the country's inability to sustain its populace resulting in a backward looking, culturally inert nation or that emigrant Scots can only be recognised as a gap in the record of the nation. Instead the enriching possibilities granted to the home country by those who leave are

[64] John Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 1916, Kate MacDonald (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1993), p.24.

emphasised illustrating the extent to which as Edward Said suggests, 'Partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic.'[65] By rediscovering writers of the Victorian age or as in the case of Cunninghame Graham and Buchan those who achieved or maintained literary success during the interwar period and yet, due to the nature of their writing or their political beliefs, have been written out of histories of the Scottish writer, a clear lineage between writers then and now can be established.

[65] Edward Said, p.xxix.

# Chapter One:
# Robert Louis Stevenson—The Foreigner at Home

> Scotland is indefinable; it has no unity except upon the map.[1]
>
> There is a sense, of course, in which all true books are books of travel. ('Walt Whitman', III, 83)

In a recent *Times Literary Supplement* article Alastair Fowler comments on the fact that although Robert Louis Stevenson achieved worldwide literary success in his day and would later inspire such innovators as Nabokov and Borges, he has received relatively little critical appreciation within Scotland.[2] This chapter will demonstrate that this neglect stems from a failure to appreciate the very particular nature of Scotland's relationship with the British Empire. As I have demonstrated in the introduction to this thesis, the binarisms applied to the Scottish experience during the time of imperial expansion do little justice to the complexity of the country's role. As both colonisers and colonised Scots involved in the business of Empire had to negotiate seemingly opposing identities. I will argue that the writer who most keenly explored this state is Robert Louis Stevenson. I will examine the extent to which his sense of Scottishness affected his interpretation of imperial adventure, focusing on the extent to which his national identity generated an interest in figures that exist outside the Manichean oppositions of imperialism, particularly with regard to his fascination with the figure of the hybrid.

Due to the breadth of Stevenson's writing coupled with the need to engage fully with the texts discussed in the limited space a thesis provides, *The Master of Ballantrae,*

[1] Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Silverado Squatters*. (II, 194) All references to Stevenson's novels, poems and essays refer to the Swanston Edition of *Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*. References to the volume number and relevant page numbers are embedded in the text.
[2] Alastair Fowler, 'And yet he's ours', *Times Literary Supplement*, No. 5028, August 13 1999, pp. 5-6.

a novel which further demonstrates his understanding of the nature of Scotland's involvement with the British Empire, is dealt with only in passing This may seem a critical oversight as lesser known works such as *In the South Seas* and *The Dynamiter,* which appear at first to bear little relevance to Scotland, are discussed at length. Yet as Stevenson has been so narrowly defined by Scottish literary critics it is necessary to provide analysis of previously neglected works in order to broaden our understanding of his complex attitude of British imperialism. Close study of *In the South Seas* reveals the depth of his anthropological knowledge and the extent to which it was informed by his Scottish upbringing. *The Dynamiter* demonstrates his startling modern sense of the disruption of boundaries, be they geographical, racial or sexual, brought about by imperialism. The relationship between Scotland and the Empire as regarded by Stevenson is fully explored in my discussion of *Kidnapped. Jekyll and Hyde* is also discussed at length in order to demonstrate that even within an urban domestic setting the Empire was never very far away in Stevenson's imaginative world. My discussion of *Treasure Island* , a novel that both reinforces and interrogates the romantic myths of Empire in a manner similar to *The Master of Ballantrae* shows that his interest in imperial matters did not blind him to the moral ambiguities at the heart of imperialism

By committing the double sin of leaving his home country and choosing to write about the Scotland of the past rather than of his time Stevenson has become the sentimental émigré *par excellence.* The Scottish diaspora's demand for nostalgic sentimental tales of the Mother Country, it is argued, sustained Scotland's culturally immature state during the Victorian period.[3] For example, David Craig quotes from *The Silverado Squatters* (1883) in order to illustrate the nostalgia of the emigrant.[4] The sense of Scotland as a limiting environment that it was imperative to leave in order to

[3] David Craig argues that during the second half of the nineteenth century ' the nostalgia of the *émigré* was now coming to be catered for by producers of Scottish literature as a basic part of the needs of their public (as it still is by advertisers of calendars, dialect novels, and tartan editions of Burns).' David Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People*, p.289.
[4] Ibid., p.288.

attain artistic maturity is a view reiterated by the most sympathetic of Stevenson critics. J.C. Furnas states of the writer's self-imposed 'exile' in Samoa that it 'immersed him in environmental and cross-cultural impingements that did much to jar his talent into maturity.'[5] Rod Edmond conveys this inferiorist interpretation of Stevenson's home country subtly when he writes 'Stevenson's Pacific writing, at least, needs to be placed more subtly within a tradition, itself complex, which it uses and undercuts.'[6] Edmond's 'at least' conceals the fact that many of the themes of his later 'realist' fiction are already present, if latent, in his earlier novels of adventure. Through such criticism Stevenson becomes the living embodiment of Scotland held in thrall to the imperial power of its neighbour, unable to assert its nationhood. Andrew Noble argues that his failure to tackle the urban realities of a modernising nation was the inevitable result of a capitulation to the literary requirements of Empire. Noble follows the critical wake left by Hugh MacDiarmid who sought to establish a new sense of the Scottish literary tradition, one that by-passed the country's imperial involvement with England. Noble suggests that Stevenson's decision to write largely in English allows for the charge that he 'betrayed his linguistic birthright'.[7] He states:

> MacDiarmid believed that Stevenson's ornate rather than simple English was, like the Kailyarders, part of his mercenary talent for fabricating an exportable image of Scotland. Further, he considered that, like Barrie's, Stevenson's boyhood tales were not the stuff of true imagination but fanciful work which kept bourgeois Scotland in a state of willed immaturity. Such literary immaturity both expressed and created Scotland's dependence on England by denying its adult nationhood and making it the middle-management, if not the servant class, of English imperialism.[8]

[5] J. C. Furnas, 'Stevenson in Exile' in Jenni Calder (ed.), *Robert Louis Stevenson and Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), pp.126-141 (p.138).
[6] Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: colonial discourse from Cook to Gaugin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 178.
[7] Andrew Noble (ed.), *Robert Louis Stevenson* (London: Vision Press, 1983), p.8.
[8] Ibid., pp.8-9.

In the criticism of both MacDiarmid and Edwin Muir, Stevenson is categorised as parroting the ways of an English audience in order to gain acceptance: the colonised complicit in their own colonialisation.[9] This argument rests on a proscriptive aesthetic agenda. It suggests the romantic tradition of adventure, the genre Stevenson was fascinated by, is inherently conservative through its supposed denial of the problems of modern day life. Realism becomes the accepted mode for an anti-imperialist spirit while romance and adventure become the bulwarks of British imperialism.[10] Francis R. Hart explains this bias against the romance when he states:

> Adventure is misunderstood as a 'genre'. It is ideologically suspect; in Stevenson's time it is associated with late imperialism [...] Critics think it incapable of mature thematic interest and argue that Stevenson must go beyond 'mere' adventure to be taken seriously.[11]

It comes as little surprise to discover that the one work of Stevenson's Noble praises unreservedly is *The Amateur Emigrant* (1895).[12] An account of Stevenson's experience of emigration on a voyage to America provides an acceptably 'authentic' image of the Scottish experience with the process of Britain's Empire building: the Scot as disenfranchised victim, forced to leave his home country for work abroad. Rather than a romantic image of emigration as Empire-building ('empty continents swarm, as at the

[9] MacDiarmid writes of Stevenson 'The secret of Stevenson's immortality and, at the same time, of his ineffectuality - is just that he has never grown up. He is the Peter Pan of letters.' 'Robert Louis Stevenson and the Future' in Angus Calder, Glen Murray and Alan Riach (eds.) *The Raucle Tongue: Hitherto Uncollected Prose Vol.1: 1911-1926* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), pp.35-6 (p.36).
Muir is even more scathing in his criticism of Stevenson: 'He sweated over words, but the more laboriously he studied them the more superficial he became, and to the end his conception of an English style remained that of a graceful and coloured surface for this [sic] thoughts and sensations.' 'A Note on the Scottish Ballads' in Andrew Noble (ed.) *Edwin Muir: Uncollected Scottish Criticism* (London: Vision Press, 1982), pp.155-171 (p.156).

[10] Noble's dislike of the adventure genre is powerfully conveyed in a scathing review of Martin Green's *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980) in which he attacks the 'terrible falsity of the whole adventure genre'. 'Literary Empires and Scotch Imperials', *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement*, No. 15, Autumn 1981,pp. 91-100 (p.95).

[11] Francis R. Hart, 'Robert Louis Stevenson in Prose' in Douglas Gifford (ed.) *The History of Scottish Literature Vol. 3 Nineteenth Century*, pp. 291-308 (p.298).

[12] Noble writes 'No realistic prose of this quality in terms of its density of detail, penetration of culture and power of characterisation, indeed its sheer intelligence, was written by anyone else in nineteenth-century Scotland.' Andrew Noble (ed.) *From the Clyde to California: Robert Louis Stevenson's Emigrant Journey* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), p.33.

bo'sun's whistle, with industrious hands, and whole new empires are domesticated to the service of man'(II, 16)) Stevenson finds himself in the

> company of the rejected; the drunken and incompetent, the weak, the prodigal, all who had been unable to prevail against circumstance in the one land, were now fleeing pitifully to another; and though one or two might still succeed, all had already failed. (II, 17)

Stevenson's aesthetic choices are therefore elided with those of his politics which are assumed to be Tory and supportive of Empire.[13] Noble expresses disappointment that although the critics gathered in *Robert Louis Stevenson* searched for evidence that Stevenson pushed the boundaries of the adventure genre, 'sadly this is not the case in the majority of our analyses.'[14] Yet as Cairns Craig perceptively notes in a review of *Robert Louis Stevenson*: 'Stevenson's indeterminacy [...] is precisely his challenge, and the evasion of that indeterminacy may be an evasion of the critic's rather than evasion by the artist.'[15] Close examination of Stevenson's writing concerned with the theory of literature reveals that he had a contradictory concept of the aims of fiction, one that sought to find a balance between the 'ideal' of romance and the scientific exactitude of realism.[16] Stevenson would appear to support the didactic nature of the adventure genre when he suggests in 'A Humble Remonstrance' (1884) that 'Life is monstrous, infinite, illogical, abrupt and poignant; a work of art, in comparison is neat, finite, self-contained, rational, flowing and emasculate'(IX, 153). Yet in 'A Note on Realism', while charging Emile Zola that 'to afford a popular flavour and attract the mob, he adds a steady current of what I may be allowed to call the rancid'(XVI, 235), ultimately he argues for a balance between the fairy tale, idealist world of romance and

[13] Jenni Calder, 'Stevenson in Perspective' in Calder (ed.), pp.3-10 (p.5).
[14] Ibid., p.10.
[15] Cairns Craig, review of Andrew Noble (ed.) *Robert Louis Stevenson* in *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement*, No. 19, Winter, 1983, pp.56-61 (p.58).
[16] For a full discussion of the paradoxical nature of romance that draws on the work of Lang and Stevenson see the chapter entitled 'Bookmen: Orality and romance in the later nineteenth century' pp.132-152 in Penny Fielding's *Writing and Orality: Nationality, culture and nineteenth century Scottish fiction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

that of realism: 'The danger of the idealist is, of course, to become merely null and lose all grip of fact, particularity or passion'(XVI, 239). In the process of exploring the possibilities of fiction far from reiterating the 'binary oppositions' of romance, as defined by Robert Macdonald, his exploration of the genre associated with imperialism is riven with uncertainty and moral ambiguity.[17] Alan Sandison's *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Appearance of Modernism* discusses the extent to which Stevenson's indeterminacy, far from being a fault, resulted in technical innovation that led the way for future Modernists.[18] Peter Keating also notes the inter-relationship that existed between the early 'modernists' and writers of genre fiction at a time when the terms 'romance' and 'realism' were far from fixed and certain.[19] What Sandison and Keating ignore is the extent to which Stevenson's Scottish upbringing played a substantial role in causing him to question the certainties of fiction and of objective truth. Naturally such questioning led to an ambivalent attitude towards British imperialism. In an extremely telling phrase in 'Crabbed Age and Youth' (1877) he suggests, 'The imputed virtue of folios full of knockdown arguments is supposed to reside in them, just as some of the majesty of the British Empire dwells in the constable's truncheon'(XVI, 324). This demonstrates Stevenson was aware of the violence that resided behind the noble façade of New Imperialism.

Cairns Craig, in *Out of History*, offers an alternative reading of the supposed retreat of Scottish writers into the world of romance. Craig suggests that Scottish writers of the nineteenth century had a very different concept of history to English writers of the same time. Rather than a progressive, linear concept of history from Scott onwards Scotland is regarded as existing 'outside history' suspended in an in-between state, displaying material progress yet retaining the memory of the Highlands and

[17] Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp.39-43.
[18] Alan Sandison, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Appearance of Modernism: A Future Feeling* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996).
[19] Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1989), p.351.

lacking the state apparatus to link it directly to history. As a consequence the interest for writers like James Hogg, George MacDonald and Stevenson lay in 'what lay beyond that history, what refused to be accepted into it, what *could* not be accepted into it but would always be returning to claim our recognition of its kinship with us.'[20] They offered a vision of the world inclusive of that which lurked beyond the bounds of history. Inevitably in the case of Stevenson this would lead to a questioning of the values of imperialism, as is evident in an early essay he wrote entitled 'Essay on History', written in 1880 for his failed attempt to gain the History Chair at Edinburgh University:

> The history of men upon this earth shows them everywhere coming and going like the tides of the sea. A tide of men gathers an[d] grows together, and becomes strong and discontented, and begins to move whither on the land in a caravan or across the sea in ships, and drives out other tribes and takes new lands, and begins to think itself the centre of the world and the chief favourite of God; and then the times change, and they grow weak again, we cannot tell why, and a new tribe drives them out in turn, or enslaves them and sends their men to hew firewood and draw water and their women to the mill to grind the corn.[21]

In the above passage there is the sense of constant change and yet little sense of development. It brings to mind a passage from Stevenson's friend the anthropologist Andrew Lang in *Custom and Myth* (1884):

> Beneath the progressive class, and beneath the waves of this troublesome world, there exists an order whose primitive form of human life has been far less changeful, a class which has put on a mere semblance of new faiths, while half-consciously retaining the remains of immemorial cults.
>
> [...] The life of such folk contains no element of progress, admits no break in continuity. Conquering

[20] Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, p. 46.
[21] Huntington Library Ms. 2393 in Jamie Rothstein, *Robert Louis Stevenson's Anti-imperialism*, Ph.D thesis, University of North Illinois, 1995, p.30.

> armies pass and leave them still reaping the harvest of the field and river; religions appear, and they are baptized by thousands, but the lower beliefs and dreads that the progressive class has outgrown remain unchanged.[22]

While an arch imperialist such as Rider Haggard is drawn to the idea brought about by colonialism that, as Daniel Binova suggests, the civilised existing 'in a multifarious relationship with the primitive', yet must endeavour to ensure the primitive remains 'carefully sealed off from the present', this was not an option for the Scottish writer who remained constantly aware of the cyclic repetitive nature of those elements that continued to remain on the boundaries of history.[23]

To attempt to readjust the critical balance by concentrating solely on the anti-imperialist strain found within Stevenson's writing only succeeds, therefore, in disguising his ambiguous position. By depicting him as a paragon of egalitarian virtue, untainted by racial prejudice, he becomes yet another 'Scotch myth', that of the Scot as promoter of a brand of 'nice' imperialism, displaying greater sympathy towards the natives than his English contemporaries.[24] It is true to say his attitude towards Native Americans and Chinese labourers encountered on his trip across America displays a sympathy towards other races unusual for his time.[25] Yet the impression of Stevenson as a radical anti-imperialist has to be tempered in view of the paternal, feudalistic form of colonial control he enacted on his Vailima estate. Stevenson relishes contradiction and paradox as a writer and displays a determination to explore apparently opposing

[22] Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London: Longmans and Green, 1884), p.178.
[23] Daniel Binova, pp.78-79.
[24] Manfred Malzahn, 'Between the Kailyard and the World Revolution: Configurations of Scottish Culture', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 2, Vol.23, Nov. 1996,pp. 54-68.
[25] In a chapter entitled 'Despised Races' he notes 'Of all stupid ill-feelings, the sentiment of my fellow Caucasian towards our companions in the Chinese car was the most stupid and worst'. (II,.129) On the plight of the native Americans he asks:

> If oppression drives a wise man mad, what should be raging in the hearts of these poor tribes, who have been driven back and back, step after step, their promised reservations torn from them one after another as the States extended westward, until at length they are shut up into these hideous mountain deserts of the centre - and even there find themselves invaded, insulted and hunted out by ruffianly diggers? (II, 132)

psychological states and moral values. He was to discover that the colonial frontier, the confrontation between the 'savage' and the 'civilised', was the perfect site for such an exploration. As a result, as Ronald R. Thomas suggests, his 'views on the increasingly complicated political situation of the British Empire were an irreconcilable mixture of idealism and guilt'.[26] Thomas quotes briefly from Stevenson's 'Protest on Behalf of Boer Independence' (1881) in which Stevenson reveals his double-mindedness in relation to the business of Empire. It is worth quoting at length to demonstrate the extent to which Stevenson's support for the Empire was highly qualified:

> I was not ashamed to be the countryman of Jingoes; but I am beginning to grow ashamed of being the kin of those who are now fighting - I should rather say, who are now sending brave men to fight - in this unmanly Transvaal war. [...] It is no affair of ours if the Boers are capable of self-government or not; we have made it sufficiently plain to Europe of late days that we ourselves are not as a whole the most harmonious nation upon Earth. [...] We are in the wrong, or all that we profess is false; blood has been shed, glory lost, and, I fear, honour also. [...] There may come a time in the history of England - for that is not yet concluded - when she also shall come to be oppressed by some big neighbour; and if I may not say there is a God in heaven, I may say at least there is a justice in the chain of causes that shall make England drain a bucket of her best blood for every drop she now exacts from the Transvaal.[27]

Stevenson is therefore what Taku Yamamoto terms an 'anti-colonial colonist'.[28] It may be tempting to describe such an ambiguous position as hypocritical yet to do so would be to ignore the way in which he complicates a simplistic Manichean conceptualisation of terms such as 'here' and 'there', 'savage' and 'civilised'. Stevenson's writing complicates and opens out our interpretation of Scottishness and also brings about a

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[26] Ronald R Thomas, *Dreams of Authority: Freud and the fictions of the unconscious* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p.245.
[27] R. L. Stevenson, *Essays Literary and Critical: Tusitala Edition*, XXVII, pp. 217-218.
[28] Taku Yamamoto, 'Fictionalizing Colonial Conflict: Robert Louis Stevenson in *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa*' in *Shiron*, 34, June 1995, pp.61-78 (p.75).

realisation of the complexities involved in negotiating contact between cultures within an imperial system that ostensibly relied upon binary oppositions to justify and legitimize its existence.

Just as Stevenson displays an interest in disrupting a linear conception of history, he also delights in disrupting spatial boundaries. His interest in blurring the demarcations between 'here' and 'there' and so placing Scotland within its international context is demonstrated in his essay 'The Foreigner at Home':

> It is not only when we cross the seas that we go abroad; there are foreign parts of England; and the race that has conquered so wide an empire has not yet managed to assimilate the islands whence she sprang.[...] Book English has gone round the world, but at home we still preserve the racy idioms of our fathers, and every county, in some parts every dale, has its own quality of speech, vocal or verbal. In like manner, local custom and prejudice, even local religion and local law, linger on into the latter end of the nineteenth century - *imperia in imperio*, foreign things at home. (IX, 7-8)

That his enlightened approach was influenced by the diversity to be found within Scotland and his own sense of alienation from England is suggested when he goes on to bemoan the ignorance of his English counterpart 'John Bull':

> In French colonies, and still more in the Dutch, I have read that there is an immediate and lively contact between the dominant and the dominated race, that a certain sympathy is begotten, or at the least a transfusion of prejudices making life easier for both. But the Englishman sits apart, bursting with pride and ignorance. (IX, 8)

Considering the future troubles of Algeria and the Dutch experience in South Africa or Indonesia it is easy to suggest a certain naivety on Stevenson's behalf. What it is important to note, however, is that he considered the imperial process as potentially enriching for both coloniser and colonised. That his antipathy towards a 'John Bullish'

attitude towards other nations was informed by his own experience as a Scot in England is clearly demonstrated in the following extracts. In a letter to Edmund Gosse he wrote:

> '*English*, the, a dull people incapable of comprehending the Scottish tongue. Their history is so intimately connected with that of Scotland, that we must refer our readers to that heading. Their literature is principally the work of venal Scots.'
> Stevenson's *Handy Cyclopedia*; Glascow: Blaikie and Bannock. (XXIII, 225)

Stevenson charges the English with failing to recognise the multiple perspectives that shape Britain. A letter to his mother while staying in Suffolk heightens the sense of alienation he felt within England:

> I cannot get over my astonishment - indeed it increases every day, at the hopeless gulph that there is between England and Scotland, and English and Scotch. Nothing is the same; and I feel as strange and outlandish here as I do in France or Germany. (XXIII, 56)

It is therefore only understandable that he should feel alienated from the display of Anglo-Saxon might represented by the British Empire.

The way he views Britain's relationship with the wider Empire was profoundly affected by the rich heterogeneity of Scotland as is demonstrated in the following passage:

> Two languages, many dialects, innumerable forms of piety, and countless local patriotisms and prejudices, part us among ourselves more widely than the extreme east and west of that great continent of America. When I am at home, I feel a man from Glasgow to be something like a rival, a man from Barra to be more than half a foreigner. Yet let us meet in some far country, and, whether we hail from the braes of Manor or the braes of Mar, some ready-made affection joins us on the instant. It is not race. Look at us. One is Norse, one is Celtic, and another Saxon. It is not community of tongue. We have it not among ourselves; and we have it almost to perfection, with English, or Irish, or American. It is not

> ties of faith, for we detest each other's errors. And yet somewhere, deep down in the heart of each one of us, something yearns for the old land, and the old kindly people. (II, 194)

The above could be used as a means of demonstrating the way in which Stevenson effectively betrayed his home country by denying it the terms that would allow the country to claim a form of nationhood. An alternative reading would reveal a more positive interpretation of his supposed inability to apply a cohesive national identity for Scotland. Written at a time when Britain was beginning to promote a form of nationalism that would power it towards the claims of Empire, his wilful avoidance of the defining terms of the nation allows for a more open-ended, non-restrictive interpretation of Scottishness. By admitting the differences that exist within his home country in terms of race, language and religious beliefs, he demonstrates a willingness to embrace multiplicity that would stand him in good stead for his travels abroad. In this sense his writing enacts the process Homi Bhabha describes:

> The 'beyond' is neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind of the past. [...] Beginnings and endings may be the sustaining myths of the middle years; but in the *fin de siècle*, we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion.[29]

This is evident in the following passage from *Edinburgh Picturesque Notes* (1879) in which he conveys a:

> vision of Edinburgh not, as you see her, in the midst of a little nationhood, but as a boss upon the round world with all Europe and the deep sea for her surroundings. For every place is a centre to the Earth, whence highways radiate or ships set sail for foreign ports. The limit of a parish is no more imaginary than the frontier of an empire; and as a man sitting at home in his cabinet

[29] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.1.

> swiftly writing books, so a city sends abroad an influence and a portrait of herself. (I, 235)

Stevenson's imaginative response to the city of his birth reveals an early proclivity towards exploring multiple perspectives, one that would later greatly facilitate his ability to describe his experience in the South Pacific. Referring to 'a man sitting at home in his cabinet [...] swiftly writing books' and linking this to Scotland's global identity illustrates the way in which no nation can exist in and of itself. Rather 'every place is a centre'. In her introduction to *Robert Louis Stevenson and Victorian Scotland*, Jenni Calder asks, 'Does Stevenson fit into a Scottish, an English, a European, or an American tradition?'[30] She goes on to note he displays 'an internationalism that Burns and Scott lack, a responsiveness to multiple traditions, a gift not only for language and languages but for variations in cultural and psychological nuances'.[31] Crucially Calder cites the difficulty in 'fixing' him within national terms not as a failing but suggestive of a state that would enable him to capture the rich heterogeneity resultant from his travels. Our understanding of his work is greatly enhanced once we accept that instead of regarding exile as a state of loss and separation his travelling was an essential factor in enriching his world-view and so his understanding of Scotland. Richard Philips, writing in relation to Richard Burton, the Victorian travel and translator of the Arabian Nights, states:

> As travellers and adventurers cross boundaries, they sometimes blur distinctions between home and away, centre and periphery, colonizers and colonized, destabilizing rather than reproducing those dualisms.[32]

[30] Jenni Calder, 'Introduction: Stevenson in Perspective' in Calder (ed.) *Robert Louis Stevenson and Victorian Scotland*, pp.1-10 (p.1).
[31] Ibid., p.2.
[32] Richard Philips, 'Writing Travel and Mapping Sexuality: Richard Burton's Sotadic Zone' in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds.) *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.70-91 (p.84).

Repeatedly, in both his travel writing and his fiction, Stevenson displays an interest in blurring those boundaries and in doing so reveals the overlapping nature of the world's geographies, the interconnectedness wrought by exploration and colonialisation. He notes in *The Silverado Squatters* 'There is no foreign land; it is the traveller only that is foreign, and now and again, by a flash of recollection, lights up the contrasts of the earth'(II, 216-217).

Ian Bell writes: 'Fiction was a voyage in which all the charts were unreliable. Nothing, life or writing, was seamless, nothing exactly as it seemed. The dreams of a sick child showed that. Why not the novel?'[33] Bell, in linking Stevenson's writing to his travelling, suggests one of the ways he differs from earlier writers and travellers concerned with Empire. From his early travel fiction we can see a tension between depicting an external reality and the traveller's own subjectivity thereby questioning the authority of the written account. If 'every place is a centre' then this challenges the sense of the travel writer being the 'centre' of authority in relation to the region he travels within.[34] His earliest travel fiction demonstrates an early ambivalence towards the means by which the imperial discourse was maintained. This involved questioning the nature of national identity, caught as he was between the desire to identify wholly with Scotland and yet, as a writer, wished to escape the limiting bounds of nationality. Furthermore, this can be related to the sense of Scotland as existing outside the bounds of history, without a clearly defined sense of itself. Travel writers of the past had travelled to distant climes in order to translate the periphery back to the centre. As a Scot, able to identify more closely with those nations that appeared to reject a 'John

[33] Ian Bell, *Robert Louis Stevenson: Dreams of Exile* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 1992), p.21.
[34] David Spurr writes of the impulse of travel writers:

> The gaze is never innnocent or pure, never free of mediation by motives which may be judged noble or otherwise. The writer's eye is always in some sense colonizing the landscape, mastering and portioning, fixing zones and poles, arranging and deepening the scene as the object of desire.

David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), p.27.

Bull' attitude to those considered 'other' Stevenson would attempt to challenge such ideological assumptions.

## I

Due to his own ill-health and that of his parents Stevenson had a well-travelled youth. By 1886 he had spent the night in 210 towns in Britain and Europe.[35] His early appreciation of Continental life and culture influenced his complex relationship with his national identity, displayed in his decision to adopt the pose of the French Bohemian. The dandy occupies an ambiguous position by refusing to claim allegiance with any particular nationality or class and so was used in his early Edinburgh days in order to challenge what he saw as the hypocrisies of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie. As Alex Clunas states:

> Dressing up and dressing down permitted him to journey vertically across social strata and to observe the world's misperceptions of him, for it was his intention to mislead the world.[36]

David Daiches argues convincingly that the figure of the flâneur and that of the adventurer are markedly similar, both existing outside the norm of society and so indicative of the inter-relationship that could exist between the moderns of the *fin-de-siécle* movement and those writers interested in narratives of adventure.[37] Stevenson's bohemian dress was matched by the ornateness of his literary style suggesting that his prose reveals a similarly indeterminate state, exploring the relationship between truth and fiction.[38] As Barry Menikoff suggests just as Stevenson 'theorized about the nature

[35] J. C. Furnas, *Voyage to Windward* (London: Faber and Faber), p.108.
[36] Alex Clunas, ' "Out of my country and myself I go": Identity and Writing in Stevenson's Early Travel Books' in *Nineteenth-century Prose*, 23, Spring. 1996, pp.54-73 (p.62).
[37] David Daiches, *Robert Louis Stevenson* (Glasgow: William Maclellan, 1947), p.19.

[38] Henry James was the most acute observer of Stevenson's intent when he wrote:

of art and art of fiction, he was equally reflective about technical and theoretical issues concerning the nature and practice of travel writing'.[39] This desire to be set apart from the rest of society creates a position analogous to that of the traveller. The traveller is 'always in-between, never at the beginning or the end of anything'.[40] He is a hybrid form in relation to the Empire, travelling through various strata of society, crossing the boundaries between the domestic and adventure just as the dandy or flâneur roams the city in order to relate tales by the fireside. Writing on *An Inland Voyage* and *Travels with a Donkey*, Clunas suggests:

> We might call the narratives nonteleogical, to distinguish them from travel reports that originate in some specific purpose, whether that is a destination or an intellectual discovery that makes the journey meaningful.[41]

Joan Corwin notes that at the time Stevenson set about his travels in France a shift had taken place in the nature of the travelogue. Instead of the didactic, imperially minded accounts of earlier travellers, 'travel became a sensual experience to be enjoyed for its own sake, rather than the purposes of increasing collections, producing maps or

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> There are writers who present themselves before the critic with just the amount of drapery that is necessary for decency, but Mr Stevenson is not one of these; he makes his appearance in an amplitude of costume. [...] Before all things he is a writer with a style - a model with a complexity of curious and picturesque garments.

Henry James, 'Robert Louis Stevenson' *Century Magazine*, April 1888, xxxv, pp. 869-79, repr. in Paul Maxiner (ed.) *Robert Louis Stevenson - the Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p.291.

[39] Barry Menikoff, "These Problematic Shores' Robert Louis Stevenson in the South Seas', in Simon Gatrell (ed.) *The Ends of the Earth: English Literature and the Wider World, Vol. 4, 1876-1918* (London: 1995), pp.141-156 (p.142).

[40] Alex Clunas, p.60.

[41] Ibid., p.55.

swelling congregations'.[42] Although Stevenson's impulse changes on reaching the exotic surroundings of the South Seas, in his early writing there is a disavowal of the persona of the Victorian traveller claiming an all-knowledgeable position in relation to the landscape in which he find himself. Indeed, one of the most singular passages in *An Inland Voyage* (1878) relates his pleasure in achieving a complete loss of Self while canoeing, remarking, 'There was less *me* and more *not-me* than I was accustomed to expect'(I, 103). The very title of *An Inland Voyage* subverts the notion of an adventurous 'voyage out' and instead conveys travel that is inwards, taking pleasure in the strangeness of the familiar. Travel becomes analogous to writing through its capacity to allow an individual to take on new identities, transcending boundaries of race and class. For example, on board the emigrant ship although according to a 'brass plate' he is a 'gentleman' 'everywhere else I was incognito, moving among my inferiors with simplicity, not so much as a swagger to indicate that I was a gentleman after all'(II, 9).

This interest in the mutability of identity, a state of inbetweenness, relates to the difficulty in locating a sense of Scottishness due to the nation's ill-defined status. The confusion surrounding Stevenson's nationality is suggested in *An Inland Voyage* when, relating to himself in the third person, he tells of the difficulties with border officials:

> He is born British subject, yet he has never succeeded in persuading a single official of his nationality. [...] I am as strange as a Jack Indian to their official spectacles. I might come from any part of the globe, it seems except from where I do [...] It is a great thing, believe me, to present a good normal type of the nation you belong to. (I, 21-22)

Here Stevenson expresses his disassociation from the nation he 'belongs' to. He travels as an 'outsider', the inability to 'fix' him to any one identity resulting in suspicion.

[42] Joan Corwin, *Identity in the Victorian Travel Narrative*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Indiana, 1983, p.152.

Paradoxically, however, contact with other nations also strengthens his sense of Scottishness, although also revealing an uncertainty as to that nation's exact definition. In Germany he finds himself relating 'the most ghastly romancing about Scottish scenery and manners...I am grown most insufferably national, you see. I fancy it is a punishment for my want of it at ordinary times'(XXIII, 41). Stevenson, through the clearly defined yet 'ghastly' image Scotland presented to the rest of the world, became aware of the tension between his own sense of what it might mean to be Scottish and what others expected of his nationality.

Although he draws attention to Stevenson's desire to combine both the flâneur and the adventurer, Daiches states that in Stevenson's fiction 'the contrast between interiors and exteriors is constantly being driven home'.[43] However, in his travel writing and later fiction Stevenson displays a desire to disrupt distinctions between the interior and exterior worlds. As seen from the letter above, abroad could literally 'bring home' to him his strength of national feeling while at home he adopted the role of the foreigner. During his travels in France he notes how life on a barge enables the traveller 'both to travel and to stop at home':

> The chimney smokes for dinner as you go along; the banks of the canal slowly unroll their scenery to contemplative eyes; the barge floats by great forests and through great cities with their public buildings and their lamps at night; and for the bargee, in his floating 'travelling abed', it is merely as if he were listening to another man's story or turning the leaves of a picture-book in which he has no concern. He may take his afternoon walk in some foreign country on the banks of the canal, and then come home to dinner at his own fire-side. (I, 12)

Stevenson undermines the assumption that travel is a disavowal of the domestic in a manner similar to the poems of *A Child's Garden of Verses*.[44] By blurring the external

[43] David Daiches, p.181.
[44] 'A Good Play' suggest travel as a state of mind, the cosy interior world of domestic life transformed into the world of adventure:

world of adventure and exploration with the interior comforts of home and hearth, he argues for the possibility of finding the familiar in the foreign and vice versa. This is evident in his account of the relationship between Catholics and Protestants within France to be found in *Travels with a Donkey* (1879). Reflecting on the religious prejudice that exists within Scotland in Cheylard he notes:

> In 1877, it appeared, the inhabitants subscribed forty-eight francs ten centimes for the 'Work of the Propagation of the Faith'. Some of this, I could not help hoping, would be applied to my native land. Cheylard scrapes together halfpence for the darkened souls in Edinburgh; while Balquhidder and Dunrossness bemoan the ignorance of Rome. (I, 177)

Stevenson's early travel writing therefore reveals his interest in the use of multiple perspectives in order to question the nature of objective truth, be it in terms of nationality or religion.

The in-between state Stevenson adopts in the persona of both writer and traveller relates to his interest in hybridity. As will be discussed in relation to *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), Stevenson's sense of the 'multifarious relationship' was heightened by the cultural diversity of Scotland and Calvinism's assertion that the civilised and the savage co-existed within the individual. His work explores the supposed divide, the 'contact zone' between opposing states. Writing on the Scottish Enlightenment's sceptical approach towards 'history' Cairns Craig notes that in the fiction of Scott and Stevenson:

> those 'barbarian' modes of society which 'history' would appear to have consigned to the past are always lurking, in the depths of the mind, across the boundaries

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We built a ship upon the stairs
All made of the back-bedroom chairs,
And filled it full of sofa pillows
To go a-sailing on the billows. (XIV, 9)

> of geography, waiting to erupt back into the present and to disrupt the progressive narrative of the historical.[45]

In a similar manner Stevenson demonstrates the way in which the 'barbarian' co-exists within the civilised individual creating hybrids of us all. Scotland's indeterminate status therefore resulted in the perfect formative environment for a writer to explore the subtle exchanges of power between coloniser and colonised, the extent to which 'centre' and 'periphery' are arbitrary concepts, that both are in fact intimately intertwined and cannot be separated by moral or spatial boundaries. Ian Bell notes this when he states 'Stevenson's was an enthusiasm for the *other*'.[46] Long John Silver, James Durie, Attwater of *The Ebb-Tide* (1894), Case of 'The Beach of Falesá' (1893) and Alan Breck are hybrid characters, figures who 'have a foot in either camp', who cannot be easily assimilated into the overarching discourse of British imperialism as they blur the boundaries between here and there, Them and Us, the savage and the civilised. Moral ambiguity within his work is frequently associated with racial hybridity. Long John Silver's wife is a 'woman of colour'(VI, 51). James Durie, the Master of Ballantrae, also has close links to the racial 'other' in the form of his servant Secundra Dass,[47] while Clara Luxmore, the anti-heroine of *The Dynamiter*, at one stage poses as a Creole (V, 155). Robert H. MacDonald notes that at the height of New Imperialism the 'fear of

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[45] Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, p.71.
[46] Ian Bell, p.16.
[47] With Secundra Das Stevenson dissects the fear relating to the racial 'other'. It is assumed by the narrator Mackellar that Das cannot speak English, casting him instead as the mysterious 'alien, of a darker hue than any man of Europe, very frailly built, with a singular tall forehead, and a secret eye'. (XII, 153) The reader knows that this is not the case due to MacKellar including an account of the Master's time in India prior to his account of the Master's return highlighting the way in which MacKellar's ignorance and that of the Ballantrae family enables James to maintain his power over them. The closing chapter in which Das attempts to revive his master disrupts the image of him as a sinister threat, but rather one of the very few characters in of the novel to display a humane compassionate nature. Furthermore by accusing MacKellar and Henry correctly of being the murderers of the Master (V, 249) Secundra reveals the moral ambiguity at the heart of the novel; that despite the efforts of the narrator to demonise James Ballantrae there is no obvious hero or villain. Tellingly Carol Mills describes *The Master of Ballantrae* as 'a hybrid - the Scottish events a recognizable historical romance, and the rest an adventure yarn' *The Master of Ballantrae:* An Experiment with Genre' in Andrew Noble (ed.) *Robert Louis Stevenson*, pp. 118-133 (p.123.). *The Master of Ballantrae* appears to satirise the 'stay-at-home' parochialism of the MacKellar family, the supposed 'evil' of James Durie appearing to rest solely on his ability to escape the demands of family and the narrow definitions imposed by the demands of eighteenth-century Scottish society.

the other may be expressed at its deepest in things sexual, for the most violent language is reserved to describe those who are thought to be the product of miscegenation'.[48] Elaine Showalter suggests that during the 1880s:

> Racial boundaries were among the most important lines of demarcation for English society; fears not only of colonial rebellion but also of racial mingling, crossbreeding, and intermarriage, fuelled scientific and political interest in establishing clear lines of demarcation between black and white, East and West.[49]

In his novel *The Dynamiter* (1885) Stevenson displays an acute interest and pleasure in confusing the boundaries suggested by Showalter and a highly subversive empathy for those who challenge the 'dynamic of the New Imperial age [that] insisted on polarity'.[50] Influenced by his experience of San Francisco, Stevenson suggests the process outlined by Iain Chambers:

> When the 'imaginary of the West' (Edward Said) no longer physically lies elsewhere, at the edges of the map, in the margins of history, culture, knowledge and aesthetics, but migrates from the periphery to take up its home in the contemporary metropolis, then our story, the languages we inhabit, implodes under the pressure of these new and urgent co-ordinates.[51]

San Francisco, as described in *The Amateur Emigrant,* was for Stevenson a fascinating blend of races and nationalities. 'For every man, for every race and nation, that city is a foreign city; humming with foreign tongues and customs; and yet each and all have made themselves at home'(II. 162). In *The Dynamiter* London is recreated as 'the city of encounters, the Baghdad of the West'(V, 7). The arabesque, story within a

[48] Robert H. MacDonald, p.35.
[49] Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture and the Fin-de-Siècle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), p.5.
[50] Robert H. MacDonald, p.31.
[51] Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (Routledge: London, 1994), pp. 29-30.

story form of *The Dynamiter* allows Stevenson to explore the 'hybridisation' that exists at the very centre of the Empire. Narrative flow is constantly disrupted as the reader faces a confusing series of shifts in location; one minute in London, the next America, Glasgow, then Africa. Readers become uncertain of where they are within the narrative and so experience a constant 'decentring'. The changing geographical location emulates the constant confusion between what is 'really' happening and what the three young men, Edward Challoner, Paul Somerset and Harry Desborough, believe to be happening. They discover along with the reader that the dividing line between fact and fiction is not easily maintained. The distinctions between home and abroad also become confused. As Stevenson suggests the instability of language in being able to construct an objective truth he reveals that, as suggested by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin:

> There is no centre of reality just as there is no pre-given unmediated reality. If language constructs the world then the margins are the centre and may reconstruct it according to a different pattern of conventions, expectations and experiences.[52]

Our three young heroes believe themselves to be:

> three men of the world, without a trade to cover us but planted at the strategic centre of the universe (for so you will allow me to call Rupert Street), in the midst of the chief mass of people, and within earshot of the most continuous chink of money on the surface of the globe. (V, 11)

Yet the Cigar Divan, the club in which the three men meet, is decorated with a 'large-scale map of Egypt and the Soudan, and another of Tonkin, on which, by the aid of coloured pins, the progress of the different wars was being followed day by day'(V, 216). The series of stories suggests the impossibility, albeit in a light-hearted manner, of

[52] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin (eds.) *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (Routledge: London, 1994), p.91.

maintaining a cool distance from the turbulence taking place beyond the confines of Rupert Street. The collection of stories is an effective satire on the parochialism of the gentleman's club as their complacency is unsettled by figures representative of the exotic; the Irish anarchist Zero, and the chameleon-like Clara Luxmore who professes variously to be Miss Fonblanque, formerly Miss Gould (an escapee from a mad Mormon scientist) and the 'fair Cuban' the Creole Señorita Teresa Valdevia. By having a anti-heroine Stevenson disrupts the boy's-own adventure and delights in unsettling the sense of narrative authority associated with the white, English hero. Instead knowledge lies in the figure of the 'Other'. Clara Luxmore, the 'author' of the adventures undertaken by the men she encounters, transcends limitations of nationality and race and in so doing achieves the ideal state of the writer. Furthermore, in 'The Story of the Fair Cuban', Clara has her heroine succeeding because of her hybrid state.[53] Although her success in defeating her foe is couched in racialist assumptions, Stevenson displays an interest in the state of being between races that does not imply an automatically inferior state from that of a 'pure' racial pedigree.

Drawn into a political conflict they were previously unaware of despite its being fought on the streets of their own country, their own city, the three heroes can be regarded as prefiguring the adventures of David Balfour. In the character of Zero, Stevenson explores the anxieties experienced by those at the centre of Empire to the possible consequences of exerting control over other nations.

> 'Here,' cried Zero, 'you behold this field of city, rich, crowded, laughing with the spoil of continents; but soon, how soon, to be laid low! Some day, some night, from this coign of vantage, you shall perhaps be startled by the detonation of the judgment gun - not sharp and empty like the crack of cannon, but deep-mouthed and unctuously solemn. Instantly thereafter, you shall behold the flames break forth. Ay,' he cried, stretching forth his hand, 'ay that will be a day of retribution. Then shall the

[53] Teresa, due to her black ancestry is able to survive the jungle that 'none could penetrate but those of African descent' (V, 156), luring the evil Mr Caulder, who is determined to steal her father's fortune, to his death. (V,174)

> pallid constable flee side by side with the detected thief. Blaze!' he cried, 'blaze, derided city! Fall, flatulent monarchy, fall like Dagon!' (V, 144-145)

Although Stevenson was anti-Home Rule, *The Dynamiter* cannot be described as having a strongly anti-Irish agenda.[54] The fury of the above speech delivered from a roof-top platform is swiftly undercut by the anarchist losing his footing and being rescued by Somerset. Zero is a ridiculous figure, and his band of inept terrorists poses no real threat to national security. However, the possibility of colonial violence returning to the centre is a subtext throughout the novel. The source for Zero and the tale of 'The Superfluous Mansion' was a bombing campaign undertaken by radical nationalist groups advocating Home Rule for Ireland. It is only in the dedication, however, that Stevenson reveals his political attitudes, believing it is a 'waste of ink' to deal with such matters 'in a serious spirit'(V, 3). In his later work, due to his increasing involvement with Samoan politics, it became increasingly difficult for him to argue that art should be seen as resolutely separate from politics. This realisation is prefigured by Somerset who is forced to reassess his amoral, dandyesque philosophy of life:

> He who had chosen the broad, daylit, unencumbered paths of universal scepticism, found himself still the bondslave of honour. He who had accepted life from a point of view as lofty as the predatory eagle's, though with no design to prey; he who had clearly recognized the common moral basis of war, of commercial competition, and of crime; he who was prepared to help the escaping murderer or to embrace the impenitent thief, found, to the overthrow of all his logic, that he objected to the use of dynamite .(V, 147)

It is at this point that 'the brute energy, the inarticulate thunder of real life, real politics'[55] breaks into Stevenson's 'neat, finite, self-contained, rational, flowing and emasculate' (IX, 153) fictional world. Somerset's realisation illustrates the tension in

[54] In his opening dedication to two police officers injured in the bombing campaign Stevenson reveals his High Tory sympathies by associating the violence with Parnell, ignoring the Irish leader's horror at such activities: 'Horror, in this case, is due to Mr Parnell'(V, 3).
[55] Christopher Harvie, 'The Politics of Stevenson' in Calder (ed.), pp.107-125 (p.118).

Stevenson between the writer and the potential man of action. The most dramatic expression of his desire to resolve the apparently separate states occurred in 1887 a year prior to his voyage to the South Seas. During a series of disturbances in Ireland following a nationalist attack on the Curtin family of County Kerry, late one night Stevenson decided on a wild scheme, described in a letter written to Mrs Fleeming Jenkin, to draw attention to their plight. Although suffering poor health he would leave Bournemouth, up-rooting his family, to take up a farm in Ireland (XXIV, 221-225). Firmly placing himself against Home Rule he anticipates his murder that would result in a martyrdom comparable to that of his hero General Gordon. The guilt he expresses at the 'health-tending, house-keeping' life of a writer would be assuaged as his internationally-renowned literary status would draw wide-spread attention to the troubles (XXIV,224). The process of destabilisation and decentring that takes place in his fiction was therefore not a state he could envisage in the broader context of the Empire, a paradox noted by G. K. Chesterton who comments on Stevenson's inability to connect the condition of the Highlands with 'the tragedy of the peasants of Ireland' and that it 'did not seem to occur to him that he was merely assisting the Master of Lovat to bully David Balfour'.[56] Yet this incident sharply reveals his sense of the imperial world being closely linked to the domestic world, the political and the personal closely intertwined.

Stevenson's interest in disruptive hybrid figures and the possibility of the colonial world 'out there' returning home to the centre is further explored in *Treasure Island* (1883). The novel occupies the curious position of being an 'energising myth'[57] of Empire that illustrates and interrogates the ends to which those myths are put. As Alastair Fowler comments of *St Ives* (1897) 'He meant to lead us up the beaten path of

[56] G. K. Chesterton, *Robert Louis Stevenson* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), p.121.
[57] Martin Green, pp.3-4.

patriotic British adventure, so as to trap us into a moralised adventure of psychology.'[58] It reveals the way in which the genre of romance could act as a means of unsettling moral certainties coupled with Stevenson's concern for embracing those elements that exist 'outside history', in this case the figure of the pirate. Just as his travel books evade the necessity of imposing an ideology on the landscape, so *Treasure Island* evades a position as a guiding text of Empire. Stevenson's disruption of what was expected of the adventure genre is clear from the reaction of certain contemporary critics. The unsigned reviewer of *Dial* complained 'there is no appreciable good accomplished by the book', concerned that it would not provide 'wholesome reading' for its intended audience of boys.[59] Arthur John Butler worried that the 'art was a little too patent' in the novel, aesthetic judgment informing his moral assessment that 'In real life John Silver would hardly have got off; he certainly ought not to in fiction.'[60] Robert H. Macdonald's suggestion that the 'adventure story writes a programme for imperialism'[61] is unsettled as the non-teleological intent of Stevenson's travel books is displayed in *Treasure Island.* By drawing attention to his literary artistry the linear, progressive narrative associated with imperial fiction is disrupted:

> It was a strange collection, like Billy Bones's hoard for the diversity of coinage, but so much larger and so much more varied that I think I never had more pleasure than in sorting them. English, French, Spanish, Portugese, Georges, and Louises, doubloons and double guineas and moidores and sequins, the pictures of all the kings of Europe for the last hundred years, strange Oriental pieces stamped with what looked like wisps of string or bits of spider's web, round pieces and square pieces, and pieces bored through the middle, as if to wear them round your neck - nearly every variety of money in the world must, I think, have found a place in that collection; and for number, I am sure they were like autumn leaves, so that

[58] Alastair Fowler, 'Parables of Adventure: The Debatable Novels of Robert Louis Stevenson', in Ian Campbell (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Scottish Literature* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1979), pp.105-129 (p.107).
[59] An unsigned notice, *Dial* (Chicago) May, 1884, v, 19, quoted in Paul Maxiner (ed.), p. 142.
[60] Ibid., Arthur John Butler, Unsigned Review, Athenaem, 3 December, 1883, 2927, 700, p.130.
[61] Robert H. MacDonald, p.30.

> my back ached with stooping and my fingers with sorting them out. (VI, 226-227)

The collection stands as a metaphor for the cross-fertilisation wrought by exploration, the treasure chest being less the monetary value of the contents than the stories it contains. The treasure, rather than being the narrative goal, adds to the texture of the story. It is not an end in itself, the point of closure, but rather opening out the possibility of other tales of adventure. Rather than promoting any 'higher cause' Stevenson heightens the sense of pleasure for its own sake and so comes close to the 'art for art's sake' movement of the fin de siècle. At such moments the linear progression of imperialist fiction is disrupted and the reader becomes aware of the stories that exist outside the central narrative.

Gail Ching-Liang Low writes that colonial adventure is frequently linked with men returning to boyhood by entering a dream-like world and cites *Treasure Island* as the romance that enabled later writers to explore this form of escapism as regression, entering a pre-civilised time of innocence.[62] The imperial adventure story enacts a form of inheritance, the child-hero, representative of the adult reader, proving a worthy heir to the task of running the Empire. However, *Treasure Island* suggests how easily dreams of Empire could turn to nightmare. Jim's experiences suggest his creator had a far more ambivalent attitude towards the burden of expectation placed upon his generation which was expected to carry the responsibility of the British Empire.

> Oxen and wain-ropes would not bring me back again to that accursed island; and the worst dreams that ever I have are when I hear the surf booming about its coasts, or start upright in bed, with the sharp voice of Captain Flint still ringing in my ears: 'Pieces of eight! pieces of eight!'(VI, 231)

[62] Gail Ching-Liang Low, *White Skins Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism* (Routledge: London, 1996), p.45.

Through his decision to reject both law and engineering careers that would certainly have enabled him to gain an imperial post Stevenson reveals this ambivalence towards an imperial inheritance. Rather than Jim claiming entitlement to the acquisitions of colonial gain he rejects them, wishing never to return to that 'accursed island'. David Daiches suggests that by the end of the novel the past has been left behind, Jim able to leave behind his boyhood adventures, a 'deliberate pushing of the whole thing into the past'.[63] Jim has attempted a 'writing cure',[64] securely setting the events he has experienced firmly in the past, yet his experience breaks out of a secure linear narrative and continues to haunt him. While the villain of the tale, Long John Silver, is able to escape the punishment he surely deserved, Jim is unable to forget the terrors of his childhood adventure. For him the past and present, here and there, remain intertwined. Hugh Ripley, employing the criticism of M. Manonni, writes of *Robinson Crusoe*, that 'the journey across the world, the shipwrecks and the strange adventures lead - although the protagonist by no means realizes this - back to Europe and to the European self'.[65] As Diana Loxley suggests Stevenson returns to a period of imperial history located in the eighteenth-century supposedly untainted by the violent excesses of latter-day imperialism and yet it is a representation ridden with anxieties relating to the imperialism of the time of its writing. Loxley states:

> What is perhaps most interesting to explore in this recreation of a lost past is the possibility that it is an expression of a side of British imperialism that admires and wants to recreate a specific moment of colonial history, providing a locus of nostalgia. Stevenson's pirates are not exactly a reflection of the image which has been handed down of the overwhelmingly romantic swashbuckling villains of the Elizabethan period. [...] But it resists these representations precisely in order to retain a sense of a somewhat more sober and prosaic, slightly later period in colonial history.[66]

[63] David Daiches, p.49.
[64] Ronald R. Thomas, p.25.
[65] Hugh Ridley, *Images of Imperial Rule* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1983), p.5.
[66] Diana Loxley, *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p.132.

The novel therefore occupies an in-between state in relation to previous imperialist literature, taking pleasure in adopting its imagery while introducing a late-nineteenth century moral ambiguity.

The tension between representations of Empire and its reality is a theme that Stevenson would explore throughout his writing. There is less of a leap in thematic content and form between *Treasure Island* and the anti-imperialist tone of *The Ebb-tide* than might first be supposed as both novels are concerned, in part, with the way in which the literature of Empire may distort the realities of life on the imperial frontier. This is made explicit in *The Ebb-tide* when Robert Herrick, a disgraced clerk turned South Sea beachcomber, decides not to sell his copy of Virgil's *Aeneid* despite his poverty. Instead he keeps it and

> would pause on random country walks and sit on the path side, gazing over the sea on the mountains of Eimeo; and dip into the *Aeneid*, seeking *sortes*. And if the oracle (as is the way of oracles) replied with no very certain nor encouraging voice, visions of England at least would throng the exile's memory: the busy schoolroom, the green playing-fields, holidays at home, and the perennial roar of London, and the fireside and the white head of his father. For it is the destiny of those grave, restrained and classic writers, with whom we make enforced and often painful acquaintanceship at school, to pass into the blood and become native in the memory; so that a phrase of Virgil speaks not so much of Mantua or Augustus, but English places and the student's own irrevocable youth. (XIX, 8-9)

Herrick's current sordid surroundings heighten the irony in his attempt to lose himself in one of the ancient classic texts of Empire. By linking Herrick's reading with powerful memories of English public school life as opposed to the landscapes Virgil describes, Stevenson illustrates the extent to which the ancient authors had become part of England's imperial sense of itself. *The Ebb-tide* investigates the tension between the imperial propaganda meted out at public school with the actual brutal and morally

ambiguous reality of the outer edges of Empire. This was a subject that intrigued Stevenson many years prior to his experience of colonial exploitation in the South Seas. In a manner similar to the disillusionment Stevenson experienced on the emigrant ship bound for America, Jim suffers brutality and realises the moral ambiguity of the adult world, a world very different from his fantasies of adventure. Jim uses the map of the island to escape from the repressive control of Squire Trelawney's gamekeeper, Redruth, who keeps Jim 'almost a prisoner' (VI, 49). Jim spends his time

> full of sea-dreams and the most charming anticipations of strange islands and adventures. I brooded by the hour together over the map, all the details of which I well remembered. Sitting by the fire in the house-keeper's room, I approached that island in my fancy, from every possible direction; I explored every acre of its surface; I climbed a thousand times to that tall hill they call the Spy-glass, and from the top enjoyed the most wonderful and changing prospects. Sometimes the isle was thick with savages, with whom we fought; but in all my fancies nothing occurred to me so strange and tragic as our actual adventures. (VI, 49)

Only in his daydreams is Jim able to escape the repressive authority of the adult world and achieve a position from which he is able to gain a clear prospect. This clarity of vision involves a spatial definition of morality as the island is 'thick with savages', an obvious, racially defined opposition. On arrival, however, the island falls far short of his previous romantic ideals:

> with its grey, melancholy woods, and wild stone spires, and the surf that we could both see and hear foaming and thundering on the steep beach - at last, although the sun shone bright and hot, and the shore birds were fishing and crying all around us, and you would have thought anyone would have been glad to get to land after being so long at sea, my heart sank, as the saying is, into my boots; and from that first look onward, I hated the very thought of Treasure Island. (VI, 88)

When Jim does achieve the 'joy of exploration', eagerly anticipated while safe in his domestic setting, what he encounters only serves to remind him of the duplicitous nature of his surroundings:

> here and there I saw snakes, and one raised his head from a ledge of rock and hissed at me with a noise not unlike the spinning of a top. Little did I suppose that he was a deadly enemy, and that the noise was the famous rattle. (VI, 93)

Christopher Harvie suggest that beneath the romantic surface:

> There is a sense in which *Treasure Island* could be seen as a sort of social parable: an embattled microcosm of civil society - squire, doctor, captain and retainers - being menaced by the lower orders under brutal and materialistic leadership.[67]

The terms 'brutal and materialistic' could apply just as easily to the unsympathetic Captain and the acquisitive Doctor and Squire Trelawney. In attempting to establish Stevenson's Toryism Harvie ignores the novelist's ambiguity towards the figures representative of authority and the internal conflict that exists within 'civil' society. In Chapter VI, 'The Captain's Papers', both Dr Livesey and Squire Trelawney make a point of concealing the treasure map from Mr Dance the excise man. Although the doctor's 'fingers were itching to open' the oilskin packet containing the map while in the presence of one acting in the service of the King 'he puts it quietly in the pocket of his coat'(VI, 41). Both the doctor and the squire are also remarkably quick in their decision to give up their respectable and valued positions at the prospect of tax-free financial gain, 'money to eat - to roll in - to play duck and drake with ever after'(VI, 45). The means by which the Squire decides on Silver's suitability as a crew member is based on his being 'a man of substance', a condition dependent on his having a

[67] Christopher Harvie 'The Politics of Stevenson' in Jenni Calder (ed.) pp.107-125 (p.112).

'banker's account' (VI, 51). Silver's desire to be a man of Parlyment (VI, 77), coupled with the greed displayed by his more respectable peers, raises the question of the extent to which the two sides differ. Both 'good' and 'evil' share the same aim, that of personal gain. Furthermore, Jim's ability to save his elders rests on his defiance of their rules and a skill in duplicity that accounts for Silver's observation that he is 'the picter of my own self when I was young and handsome'(VI, 186). The close kinship between Silver and Jim unsettles the careful balance traditionally found in imperialist literature between a youth who is able to break the rules when duty permits yet maintains the imperial spirit.

Diana Loxley states in relation to Long John Silver that 'the ambiguous figure of the pirate - the object of both admiration and fear, a subject who is beyond the law and yet part of it at the same time - is brought forward discursively again at the moment of supreme scientism and classification when the 'hybrid' is so feared'.[68] Loxley's argument provides an excellent study of the extent to which the novel is embedded within the context of the time in which it was written rather than occupying a privileged space outside time as a children's classic, untainted by politics. However, her argument carries the implicit assumption that, by writing a novel dealing with British imperialism, Stevenson was an Imperialist. Stevenson's outburst on discovering Gladstone, held responsible for the death of his beloved General Gordon, had enjoyed *Treasure Island*, that the Prime Minister's time would be better employed 'maintaining England's imperial interests', would certainly support such an argument.[69] Yet to assert this was so is to ignore the extent to which Stevenson identified with Long John Silver and so with Silver's hybrid state demonstrated in the fable 'The Persons of the Tale'. Captain Smollett and Silver take a break from the narrative of *Treasure Island*, Silver assuring the Captain that 'If there is a Author, by thunder, but he's on my side, and you may lay

[68] Diana Loxley, p.133.
[69] Bradford A. Booth and Ernest E. Mehew (eds.) *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson* Vol. Five (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p.49.

to it!'(XXI, 270) His enthusiasm for the disruptive 'hybrid' who has the ability to change identities and shift linguistic register suggests Silver can be regarded as the ideal embodiment of both traveller and writer. Stevenson can be said to occupy much the same position as his beloved villain, maintaining a 'foot in either camp'(VI, 208). He operates within but keeps a sceptical eye on the business of imperialism. He is both enraptured with the romance the Empire might provide and yet aware of the brutal realities the mythologies upon which he drew concealed. This 'in-between' state emulates that of the Scot within the Empire, both benefiting from its aims, but remaining outside the dominant national discourse. As Alan Sandison points out, Dr Livesey, the authority figure most sympathetic towards Jim:

> prides himself on having served with the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy. The year was 1745: in the next year this able general acquired his notorious soubriquet 'Butcher' Cumberland for what were seen as his brutal tactics in the battle of Culloden which ensured the decimation of the Jacobite forces and the disfavour of romantic nationalists like Stevenson.[70]

Three years from the writing of *Treasure Island*, David Balfour discovers the colonial exploitation taking place within his own country during the time of the adventures of Jim Hawkins. Stevenson illustrates the fact that contrary to the over-arching imperial discourse of the time 'savagery' and 'civilisation' are not categories that can be attributed to spatially distinct areas but rather co-exist, a point reinforced by the lack of 'savages' on the island itself.

As with *Treasure Island*, *The Strange Case of Jekyll and Hyde* is not a 'voyage out' from respectable society into an external otherness but rather an exploration into civilisation's heart of darkness.[71] Rather than division between coloniser and colonised,

[70] Alan Sandison, p.59.
[71] Murray Pittock, *Spectrum of Decadence: the literature of the 1890s* (London: Routledge,1993), pp.109-110.

*The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* reveals the indeterminacy at the heart of the colonial encounter, the fact that the 'Other' rather than existing as an external presence is a projection of and so resides within the coloniser.[72] Robert Young writes of *Jekyll and Hyde*:

> Many novels of the past have...projected...uncertainty and difference outwards, and are concerned with meeting and incorporating the culture of the other, whether of class, ethnicity or sexuality; they often fantasize crossing into it, though rarely so completely as when Dr Jekyll transforms himself into Mr Hyde.[73]

Young ignores the crucial fact that the novella challenges the very concept of 'otherness' existing 'outwards'. Instead *Jekyll and Hyde* reveals that otherness resides within and that failure to recognise that fact by imposing 'otherness' on those different to ourselves can have terrible consequences. David Punter touches upon this theme when he suggests:

> Jekyll's difficulties are those of the benevolent imperialist. They are not all to do with the political problem of sanctioning brute force, but with the maintenance of dignity under adverse circumstances. It is strongly suggested that Hyde's behaviour is an urban version of 'going native'.[74]

Closer examination of the novella serves to challenge Punter's view as Punter ignores the fact that Hyde is created through Jekyll's desire to maintain the image of the

[72] 'It is not the colonialist Self or the colonized Other, but the disturbing distance in-between that constitutes the figure of colonial otherness - the white man's artifice inscribed on the black man's body.' Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.45.

[73] 'This transmigration is the form taken by colonial desire, whose attractions and fantasies were no doubt complicit with colonialism itself. The many colonial novels in English betray themselves as driven by desire for the cultural other, for forsaking their own culture: the novels and travel-writings of Burton, Haggard, Stevenson, Kipling, Allen or Buchan are all concerned with forms of cross-cultural contact, interaction, an active desire, frequently sexual, for the other, or with the state of being what Hanif Kureishi calls 'an inbetween', or Kipling 'the monstrous hybridism of East and West'. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge: 1995), p.3.

[74] David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: A history of Gothic fictions from 1765 to the present day* (London: Longman, 1980), p.241.

benevolent imperialist and in so doing disguise his own misanthropy. This can be extended to the attitude of Britain as a whole with regard to its imperial concerns. As Jekyll discovers, the imperialist by denying his responsibilities to others may find that repressive violence visited upon his own domestic sphere. The language of imperial exploration was increasingly used in attempts to explore the supposed threat of the working classes in the ever-growing cities. The bombing campaigns touched upon in *The Dynamiter* violently demonstrated the impossibility of maintaining a clear distinction between events associated with the public sphere taking place 'out there' in the domain of political imperial affairs, and within the domestic sphere of home. Throughout *Jekyll and Hyde* the state described in the following passage by Homi Bhabha reoccurs:

> Private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social develop an interstitial intimacy. It is an intimacy that questions binary divisions through which such spheres of social experience are often spatially opposed.[75]

A vital component of Stevenson's ability to bring about such a confusion of apparently opposing states is related to the supposedly neurotic state of the Caledonian antisyzygy. Stevenson had an acute Calvinist awareness of the evil that lurks within all of us, embodied in the public probity and private vice of such a figure as Deacon Brodie. As Murray Pittock astutely notes:

> the story tells us that we all contain our own degenerates. Hyde is not some awful creature 'out there': he is within us. The externalization of original sin manifest in degeneracy theory is not permitted us by Stevenson's Calvinist inheritance.[76]

[75] Homi Bhabha *The Location of culture*, p.13.
[76] Murray Pittock, p.110.

Within the novella, Stevenson achieves a blend of the theology of his Edinburgh upbringing and Darwinian theory. Hyde is the obvious descendant of 'Probably Arboreal', described in Stevenson's essay 'Pastoral' (1887) - the primitive, 'fossilised' being that continues to reside within us. He writes:

> Each has his own tree of ancestors, but at the top of all sits Probably Arboreal; in all our veins there run some minims of his old, wild, tree-top blood; our civilised nerves tingle with his rude terrors and pleasures; and to that which would have moved our common ancestor, all must obediently thrill. (IX, 59-60)

Aside from the concoction Jekyll takes to bring about his transformation involving 'a few minims' (V, 282) of red tincture, the combination of 'rude terrors and pleasures' is exactly the condition experienced by Jekyll as Hyde. Hyde is also described in terms that identify him with the primitive and bestial.'God bless me, the man seems hardly human! Something troglodytic, shall we say?'(V, 240) He laughs a 'savage' laugh, (V, 239) murders Carew with 'ape-like fury'(V, 243), and is described as possessing an 'ape-like spite' (V, 301). Stevenson's essay 'The Manse' makes explicit the connection he made between Darwinian anthropological thought and his religious upbringing. The final paragraph wonders at the fact that his grandfather, the minister Lewis Balfour:

> as he sat in his cool study, grave reverend, contented gentleman, there was an aboriginal frisking of the blood that was not his; tree-top memories, like undeveloped negatives, lay dormant in his mind; tree-top instincts awoke and were trodden down; and Probably Arboreal (scarce to be distinguished from a monkey) gambolled and chattered in the brain of the old divine. (IX, 67)

Punter suggests Jekyll/Hyde offer the possibility that 'the human being may be the product of a primal miscegenation, fundamentally unstable blending which scientific

or psychological accident may be able to part'.[77] Within *Jekyll and Hyde*, the relative comfort of the 'hybrid' existing as an external presence, as a Long John Silver, for example, is cancelled out. Jekyll's folly is brought about by the pressures of Victorian society that seek to deny open expression of an essential part of human nature. Just as Somerset realises his moral responsibility to his community through contact with the colonial other, Zero, the life of Dr Jekyll dramatically illustrates the importance of recognising the otherness we prefer to conceal, to 'hide'. Jekyll/Hyde occupies the position of the 'uncanny', caught at the unsettling point when the familiar suddenly become the strange, 'the actual strangeness of the commonplace.'[78] He occupies a mid-point, caught 'in-between' a civilised public façade and concealed savagery. He enacts an irruption into the private domestic sphere of Jekyll's nefarious activities. As a consequence Jekyll becomes a stranger in his own home. In doing so he becomes representative of what Homi Bhabha describes as the position of the hybrid, 'a difference 'within', a subject that inhabits the rim of an 'in-between reality".[79]

That Jekyll's refusal to acknowledge fully all aspects of himself results in a failure to recognise his place within society is indicated in the descriptions of Hyde, all of which refer to sections within society that are excluded from the enclosed, privileged bachelor existence of the men of the story. Hyde is child-like, referred to as a 'little man' (V, 229) and is described as 'smaller, slighter and younger than Henry Jekyll'(V, 229). He is associated with the working classes as he has a physical strength that would not be associated with the slightly effete ways of the respectable middle-classes, owns a flat in disreputable Soho (V, 249) and in contrast to Jekyll's hand which 'was professional in shape and size; it was large, firm, white and comely' his is one associated with hard manual labour, 'lean, corded, knuckly'(V, 291). Hyde is even

[77] David Punter, p.245.
[78] For a discussion of the way in which the confusion of voices between Jekyll/Hyde and 'an indeterminate figure who is neither' see Peter K. Garrett, 'Cries and voices: Reading *Jekyll and Hyde*' in William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch (eds.), *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde: After One Hundred Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.59-72 (p.63.)
[79] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.13

described in terms linking him with the feminine, Jekyll revealing 'that that insurgent horror was knit to him closer than a wife'(V, 360). On meeting Lanyon Hyde displays 'hysteria', a condition commonly associated in the nineteenth-century with women[80] (V, 281). Henricka Kuklick and Anne McClintock have both demonstrated the way in which anthropological discussion of the time served to connect such elements within society potentially disruptive to the enclosed environs of the ruling male elite with the colonial other.[81] Kuklick states 'All of these relationships were analogous: primitives to Europeans; children to adults; women to men; the poor to the elite'.[82] All those elements that Jekyll previously denied in his life, instead preferring to lead a self-serving existence, irrupt dramatically into it.

Jekyll claims the reason Hyde so unsettles those who come into contact with him is his being 'wholly evil' in contrast to our combined state of both good and evil yet one of the results of Hyde's uncanny status is his ability to draw out the savage in the most innocent of individuals. Enfield, who witnesses Hyde's first crime of trampling a little girl, states:

> But there was one curious circumstance. I had taken a loathing to my gentleman at first sight. So had the child's family, which was only natural. But the doctor's case was what struck me. He was the usual cut-and-dry apothecary, of no particular age and colour, with a strong Edinburgh accent, and about as emotional as a bagpipe. Well, sir, he was like the rest of us: every time he looked at my prisoner, I saw that Sawbones turned sick and white with the desire to kill him. ...And all the time, as we were pitching in red hot, we were keeping the women off him as best we could, for they were as wild as harpies. I never saw a circle of such hateful faces [...] (V, 230).

[80] William Veeder, 'Children of the Night' in Veeder and Hirsch (eds.), pp.107-160, p.149.
[81] Henricka Kuklick, *The Savage Within: the social history of British anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
Anne McClintock *Imperial Leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[82] Henricka Kuklick, p.85.

Although Hyde's action is indeed terrible what strikes Enfield is what he thinks as the excessively angry state of the crowd. The unemotional Scot brought into contact with the violence of Hyde displays an emotion as savage as the man he would condemn, while women turn to 'harpies'. Hyde becomes a catalytic means of accessing the 'primitive' feelings that reside in the most respectable of individuals, revealing all that they would prefer to conceal. For example, Utterson reviewing his own past after confronting Hyde finds himself 'humbled to the dust by the many ill things he had done'.

The terror and disgust of those who come face to face with Hyde is not only a reaction to his appearance but also to the horror of self-recognition. The difficulty in 'fixing' Hyde externally heightens the sense that he embodies the internal fears of those who wish to 'seek' him out. Enfield, despite coming into close contact with Hyde, states:

> 'He is not easy to describe. There is something wrong with his appearance; something displeasing, something downright detestable. I never saw a man I so disliked, and yet I scarce know why. He must be deformed somewhere; he gives a strong feeling of deformity, although I couldn't specify the point. He's an extraordinary looking man, and yet I really can name nothing out of the way. No, sir; I can make no hand of it; I can't describe him. And it's not for want of memory; for I declare I can see him at this moment' (V, 232-233).

Following the murder of Danvers Carew it is discovered that Hyde 'had never been photographed' (V, 250), bringing to mind the 'undeveloped negatives' referred to in the essay 'The Manse.' Utterson dreams of accompanying Hyde on a violent tour of the city and notes:

> figure had no face by which he might know it ; even in his dreams, it had no face, or one that baffled him and melted before his eyes; and thus it was that there sprang up and grew apace a singularly strong, almost an

> inordinate, curiosity to behold the features of the real Mr Hyde(V, 237).

Patrick Brantlinger suggests 'Imperial Gothic [...] expresses anxieties about the ease with which civilization can revert to barbarism or savagery and thus about the weakening of Britain's imperial hegemony'.[83] *Jekyll and Hyde* suggests that this 'weakening' stems from an inability to recognise and interact with elements considered 'savage'. In his essay 'Pastoral' Stevenson connects the romance genre with an impulse to connect with, 'the trunk and aboriginal taproot of the race' (V, 59) that resides within all of us and so suggests one of the paradoxes of the romance of Empire, echoing Andrew Lang's claim that romance enables the reader to gain contact with the 'savage within us'.[84] While supposedly spreading the cause of civilisation, imperialists were also granted the means to enter an environment free from the restrictive constraints of the civilised world. Jekyll rejoices in the fact that by bringing about his transformation, 'I was the first that could thus plod in the public eye with a load of genial respectability, and in a moment, like a schoolboy, strip off these lendings and spring headlong into the sea of liberty'(V, 289-290). In a similar manner, the possibility of adventure on the wild frontiers of the Empire was promoted as a means by which Britain could become reinvigorated, offering men the opportunity of returning to the adventures of boyhood. However this fictional return to childhood served to conceal the actual violence perpetrated by these 'boy-men'. Jekyll discovers the folly of believing in the innocence of returning to a child-like state free of adult responsibility. William Veeder suggests 'Hyde threatens society itself because rage is directed not outward - through, say, imperialistic ventures - but back into communal life'.[85] Similarly, rather than the Empire providing a means for Britain to equate outward movement with moral

[83] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rules of Darkness,* p.229.
[84] Andrew Lang, 'Realism and Romance', in *Contemporary Review*, 52, November 1887, pp.683-693 (p.690).
[85] William Veeder, 'Children of the Night' in William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch (eds.) *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde: After One Hundred Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.107-160 (p.122).

advancement, knowledge of British atrocities in Africa brings this into question and suggest greater attention needed to be paid to the actual nature of the 'civiliser'. Henry Jekyll's account of his scientific discovery contains language that positions him in the role as imperialist explorer, one who ignores the potentially dangerous conflict between savage and civilised elements that might be brought about by his explorations:

> With every day and from both sides of my intelligence, the moral and the intellectual, I thus drew steadily nearer to that truth, by whose partial discovery I have been doomed to such a dreadful shipwreck: that man is not truly one, but truly two. (V, 285)

The use of the term 'dreadful shipwreck' carries suggestions of a Crusoe-like discovery. Jekyll, referring to himself in the third person, goes on to describe his feelings towards Hyde:

> he thought of Hyde, for all his energy of life, as of something not only hellish but inorganic. This was the shocking thing; that the slime of the pit seemed to utter cries and voices; that the amorphous dust gesticulated and sinned; that what was dead, and had no shape, should usurp the offices of life. And this again, that that insurgent horror was knit to him closer than a wife, closer than an eye; lay caged in his flesh, where he heard it mutter and felt it struggle to be born; [...]. (V, 300)

This bears a marked similarity to Conrad's Marlowe in his horror-stricken realisation that the African natives he encounters are as representative of humanity as himself - the inhuman reveals itself as potentially human.[86] The crucial difference between Conrad

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[86] On his boat travelling further into the heart of Africa Marlowe tells his listeners:

> It was unearthly, and the men were - No, they were not inhuman. Well, you know, that was the worst of it - this suspicion of their not being inhuman. It would come slowly to one. They howled, and leaped, and spun, and made horrid faces; but what thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity - like yours - the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar. Ugly. Yes, it was ugly enough; but if you were man enough you would admit to yourself that there was in you just the faintest trace of a response to the terrible frankness of that noise, a dim suspicion of

and Stevenson is that instead of the racism implicit in Conrad's work, the horror Marlowe experiences deriving from the possibility of a kinship with the external racial Other, in *Jekyll and Hyde* such geographical and racial distinctions disappear: the savage resides within.

With fierce debate surrounding the Irish land question taking place after the novella's publication, the image of Hyde was used to describe the Irish colonial Other, no doubt assisted by the activities of Douglas Hyde, a strong advocate for Irish literature and culture.[87] The troubles in Ireland brought home the fact that the violent business of Empire had a disconcerting and disorientating habit of returning to the centre. Acts of terrorism proved that matters of Empire could not be contained by the public sphere of political debate but instead erupted into the domestic sphere. That this troubled Stevenson is evident in the opening dedication of *The Dynamiter* in which he states that a 'political crime' may prove a threat to the 'side of the child, of the breeding woman' (V, 3). Jekyll's experiment is not centrifugal, as he hoped, casting out the side of his character that is 'pure evil' (V, 288), but rather centripetal, bringing violence to his own home. While Patrick Brantlinger and Richard Boyle are correct to draw attention to the political uses of Stevenson's work, it is important to note that placing Hyde firmly as a colonial or class Other destroys the truly radical nature of the novella with its suggestion that no such distinction can exist between 'other' and 'self'.[88] As Veeder comments, 'A patriarchal system that sets out to assure self-definition by excluding undesirables ends up by excluding itself, through exclusion of half of every self'.[89] The tragedy of Jekyll and Hyde reveals that at the point of the colonial contact:

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there being meaning in it which you - you so remote from the night of first ages - could comprehend.

Joseph Conrad, *Heart of* Darkness, 1902 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1995), pp.62-63.

[87] Patrick Brantlinger and Richard Boyle,'The Education of Edward Hyde: Stevenson's 'Gothic Gnome' and the Mass Readership of Late-Victorian England', in Veeder and Hirsch (eds.), pp. 265-282.

[88] 'Hyde himself is, of course, an atavistic creature, whose "dwarfish...ape-like" appearance reflects the stereotype of the Irish hooligan,' Patrick Brantlinger and Richard Boyle, p.271.

[89] William Veeder, p.155.

> The recesses of the domestic space become sites for history's most intricate invasions. In that displacement, the borders between home and world become confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorientating.[90]

While in Bournemouth Stevenson wrote another novel in which the central character realises the importance of recognising and building a relationship with areas of life that might be considered 'savage'. In *Kidnapped* (1886) the exchange between the 'civilised' and the 'savage' that takes place within the psyche of Dr Jekyll is translated into geographical terms. In a manner similar to *Jekyll and Hyde*, David Balfour's experience within the Highlands, witnessing the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite uprising and being led as a fugitive by the dandyesque adventurer Alan Breck following the murder of the 'Red Fox' Colin Campbell, reveals the difficulties in maintaining a clear moral separation between savagery and civilisation, the 'coloniser' and the 'colonised'. As Daiches states, 'Scotland provided, topographically, psychologically and socially, the 'objective correlative' for those moral problems and ambiguities that disturbed him all his life.'[91]

Due to *Kidnapped* Stevenson stands accused of playing a prominent role in encouraging the Balmoralisation of the Highlands, providing tourists with 'topographical description detailed enough to be followed on the ground'.[92] He is considered guilty of 'orientalising' the Scottish Highlands and their inhabitants in a manner similar to writers associated with the imperialist discourse, disguising the 'true' political importance of the Highlands and preparing the way for its commodification. Noble suggests that *Kidnapped* reveals Stevenson's desire to 'evade the real issues in nineteenth century Scotland'.[93] Yet, within the context of New Imperialism, Stevenson

[90] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.9.
[91] David Daiches, 'Stevenson and Scotland' in Calder (ed.), pp. 11-32 (p.24).
[92] John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p.87.
[93] Andrew Noble, 'Highland History and Narrative Form in Scott and Stevenson', in Andrew Noble (ed.) *Robert Louis Stevenson,* pp.134-201 (p.178).

can be seen actively to engage in questions relating to Britain's continued imperial expansion. James Hunter's suggestion that the novel is 'set firmly in the 1750s' rather than tackling the development of the political strength gathering in the Highlands of the 1880s is misplaced as Stevenson succeeds in an attempt to draw a comparison between the events of the Highland's past and the colonial process taking place overseas.[94] A close reading of the novel reveals the way in which he subtly deconstructs elements of the imperial discourse associated with the romance genre and travel writing. Within this historical context Robert Kiely's description of *Kidnapped* as a 'boy's daydream' at 'the centre [of which] lies not psychology, or morality, or politics, or patriotism, or geography' becomes untenable.[95]

The character of David Balfour and his assorted misadventures offers a radical re-interpretation of the adventure genre. The point is further made if the novel is compared to a work inspired by Stevenson's *Treasure Island.* H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) provides an escape into fantasy from the real business of Empire, Africa depicted as existing as a place 'out-of-time' in which Western white men are required to ensure stable society. *Kidnapped* relates a similar theme to the dreams of imperial adventure and colonisation, a young hero caught up in the primitive politics of primitive peoples. Rather than an ahistorical representation of boyhood escape, however, questions relating to the aftermath of colonisation are tackled directly. While *Kidnapped* does complicate issues surrounding the validity of imperialism, there is a difficulty in fixing Stevenson as a radical anti-imperialist as he displays a sympathy for both sides of the story and, indeed, the stories that exist in the margin between coloniser and colonised. He occupies much the same position as David Balfour, 'Mr Betwixt and Between' (X, 137).

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[94] James Hunter, *On the Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1995), p.113.
[95] Robert Kiely, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the fiction of adventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.81.

In 1882, four years prior to the writing of *Kidnapped*, in his essay 'A Gossip on Romance' Stevenson sought to define the qualities of the romance genre. In so doing he suggested the possibility of adventure stories acting as a means of 'narrating the nation'.[96]

> It is one thing to write about the inn at Burford, or to describe scenery with the word-painters; it is quite another to seize on the heart of suggestion and make a country famous with a legend [...] English people of the present day are apt, I know not why, to look somewhat down on incident and reserve their admiration for the clink of teaspoons and the accent of the curate. (IX, 139)

At first it might it appear that *Kidnapped* aptly fits the sense of a 'national myth'. This is strongly suggested within the novel itself when Rankeillor tells David on hearing of his adventures,

> This is a great epic, a great Odyssey of yours. You must tell it, sir, in a sound Latinity when your scholarship is riper. Or in English if you please, though for my part I prefer the stronger tongue. You have rolled much; *quae regio in terris* - what parish in Scotland (to make a homely translation) has not been filled with your wanderings? (X, 287)

However, in 'A Gossip on Romance' he recounts the story of a Welsh miner who through a narrative of colonialisation, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), learnt to read both Welsh and English (V, 40). Paradoxically therefore, the romance genre has the capacity to reveal a diverse unity, the differences that exist within Britain. In the same essay, Stevenson notes the importance of a strong sense of 'place' to his imagination. He writes:

> that tracts of young fir, and low rocks that reach into deep surroundings, particularly torture and delight me. Something must have happened in such places, and perhaps ages back, to members of my race; and when I was a child I tried in vain to invent appropriate games for

[96] Homi Bhabha, 'Introduction: Narrating the Nation' in *Nation and Narration*, pp.1-7 (p.1).

> them, as I still try, just as vainly, to fit them with the proper story. (IX, 34)

Francis Hart suggests 'Even his sense of history was topographical' and in the friendship between Alan and David and the narrative travelling around Scotland at a time of great inner conflict there is the sense of Stevenson attempting to provide a totalising, cohesive sense of the nation, one that unites disparate elements.[97] Yet what is striking in Stevenson's account of the sources of creative inspiration is the degree of ambiguity it reveals in relation to the places described. They both 'torture *and* delight', conveying an uncanny sense of the familiar and the strange, the actual and the fictional. As a child he 'tried *in vain* to invent appropriate games for them', a pleasant state of frustration that continued into his adult professional life, trying 'just as vainly, to fit them with the proper story.' Stevenson displayed a determination to question the very nature of 'truth' and so it is only to be expected that he would display a certain, albeit unconscious, ambivalence towards the idea of generating a sustaining myth for the nation, one that would attempt to provide a coherent whole for a number of disparate voices. As a writer with a 'strong Scots accent of the mind', as he states in his essay 'The Foreigner at Home' (IX, 18), Stevenson might be expected to be concerned with ways and means of sustaining a Scottish sense of national separateness from England at a time when Britain's national pride gained validation through the acts of Empire. Yet frequently the novel reveals the difficulty in imposing one voice, one story upon a group of peoples. In turn this unsettles the hierarchical relationship engendered by imperialism; how can one group of peoples impose their sense of history over another?

In a letter to J. M. Barrie written in 1892, Stevenson comments on the critical reaction following the publication of *Kidnapped*:

> I was pleased to see how the Anglo-Saxon theory fell into the trap: I gave my Lowlander a Gaelic name, and

[97] Francis R. Hart, 'Robert Louis Stevenson in Prose' in Douglas Gifford (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature*, pp. 291-308 (p.291).

> even commented upon the fact in the text; yet almost all critics recognised in Alan and David a Saxon and a Celt. I know not about England; in Scotland at least, where Gaelic was spoken in Fife little over a century ago, and in Galloway not much earlier, I deny that there exists such a thing as a pure Saxon, and I think it more questionable if there be such a thing as a pure Celt. (XXV, 155)

There is an element of wish-fulfilment on the part of David's creator in the above exchange as Stevenson spent some time trying to establish whether or not he could lay claim to a Highland ancestry on the side of his mother, a Balfour. No such link was ever made but it displays his desire to position Scotland as a place more receptive to the blending of cultures and race than England. However, as in the case of *Jekyll and Hyde*, he appears unsure how such a balance might be achieved. Stevenson was aware that, in the words of Homi Bhabha, 'despite the certainty with which historians speak of the 'origins' of the nation as a sign of the 'modernity' of society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more transitional social reality'.[98] The shifting identities contained within the definition 'Scottish' are a condition Stevenson both rejoices in and is unsettled by. *Kidnapped*, although situated in the eighteenth century, can also be seen as representative of Scotland within the latter end of the nineteenth century, an 'in-between' state - with a clear national consciousness and culture but without any form of state apparatus. David's definition of himself as somewhere 'betwixt and between' (X, 136) the two sides of Whig and Jacobite is one that amply fits a country represented as the 'imperial other', Highlanders depicted in colonial warfare.

Central to Stevenson's subversion of the genre is the decision to portray the hero as an exile in his own land. Instead of a journey out into the boyhood irresponsibility available at the outer reaches of Empire David discovers his own country and a new maturity. By following David's travels the reader learns that, as Edward Said suggests,'all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure,

[98] Homi K. Bhabha, 'Narrating the Nation', p.1.

all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated and unmonolithic.'[99] The text itself celebrates a sense of hybridity in seeking to blend elements of oral story-telling and the literary. The novel's mix of voices conveys the rich heterogeneity of narrative techniques that exist within a Scottish tradition. As Emma Letley notes, aside from Alan's poetry and song, reference is made to the Border ballad tradition.[100] David remarks:

> there came up into my mind (quite unbidden by me and even discouraged) a story like some ballad I had heard folk singing, of a poor lad that was a rightful heir and a wicked kinsman that tried to keep him from his own. (X, 97)

As W. W. Robson remarks, Stevenson's desire to place the novel within the ballad tradition 'seems to offer the only explanation of the otherwise inexplicable incident of Jennet Clouston'.[101] Robson wonders at the appearance of the woman who brings down a curse on Uncle Ebeneezer complaining that Stevenson 'never resolves it' suggesting a technical fault brought about by a change of intent. The recipe 'To make Lilly of the Valley Water' (X,81) presented to David by the minister of Essendean also serves little use to the narrative drive of the story but serves to create a hybrid, varied work, one that attempts to capture the rhythms of Lowland Scots and Highland speech and contain elements of romantic adventure, travelogue and Bildungsroman. In so doing, Stevenson explicitly challenges the authority of the 'King's English' as is demonstrated when David, as fugitive, experiences for the first time 'the first English speech'.

> 'I tell you it's 'ot,' says he; and I was amazed at the clipping tones and the odd sing-song in which he spoke, and no less at that strange trick of dropping the letter h.

[99] Edward Said, p.xxix.
[100] Emma Letley, 'Introduction' to Robert Louis Stevenson *Kidnapped* and *Catriona* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.xv.
[101] W.W. Robson, 'On *Kidnapped*' in Jenni Calder, (ed), pp. 88-106 (p.94).

> To be sure, I had heard Ransome; but he had taken his ways from all sorts of people, and spoke so imperfectly at the best, that I set down the most of it to childishness. My surprise was all the greater to hear that manner of speaking in the mouth of a grown man; and indeed I have never grown used to it; nor yet altogether with English grammar, as perhaps a very critical eye might here and there spy out even in these memories. (X, 223)

Throughout this passage there are sly jibes at the 'degraded' state of the English dialect, the 'dropping' of the letter 'h'. The English representatives of the Hanoverian government, as opposed to those of Highland Gaelic culture, become the 'exotics' and so the question of who the 'Other' is within the novel becomes confused. Here received English becomes 'English', another dialect rather than the standard.[102]

The range of voices also suggests the various histories that exist outwith the central narrative. Stevenson displays a rather cavalier approach to Scottish history, fitting in cameo appearances by actual characters and using the events of the Appin murder to question the means by which history is put and how that history is made. Following David and Alan's battle of the Roundhouse and the killing of several of Captain Hoseason's crew Alan composes a song of victory in the Gaelic tradition, celebrating 'the sword of Alan'. Due to his ignorance of Gaelic David at the time is 'innocent of any wrong being done me' but complains, not unjustly, that 'I did my fair share both of the killing and the wounding' (X,147). In tones of hurt pride he notes that he 'might have claimed a place in Alan's verses'. Alan's song becomes 'popular', the battle claimed by the figure who might be considered the 'loser', the Jacobite, as opposed to that of the 'winner', the Lowland Whig. Furthermore, during their stay with the Maclarens of Balquhidder Robin Oig, one of the sons of Rob Roy, makes an appearance. Oig treats David with respect as during the '45 his brother's leg was cured by a surgeon who 'was brother to Balfour of Baith'(X, 265). Yet David is unable to claim any kinship as

[102] Ashcroft, Griffins, Tiffin, (eds.), p.8

> You are to remember that I knew no more of my descent than any cadger's dog; my uncle, to be sure, had prated of some of our high connections, but nothing to the present purpose; and there was nothing left me but that bitter disgrace of owning I could not tell. (X, 265)

The Lowlander faces the ignominy of being educated on his own family history, suggesting the Highlanders as retaining a greater sense of ancestry and history than their Lowland counterparts. Stevenson therefore conveys the sense of the many histories that might remain unvoiced within a grander history constructed by the winning side. The sense of the Highlands as existing 'outside history' is challenged. It is in the Highlands that David becomes embroiled in the narrative of history as opposed to his own personal quest. Earraid marks a point of transition when, by accepting the knowledge of those outside his own narrow sphere, he is able to achieve a greater unity between the world of the personal and the historical, from his own claim of inheritance to involvement in the rivalries of the Highlands.[103] Ernest Baker suggests, 'The Appin murder is only a mechanical centre, not an organic motive;...it has nothing to do with David or Alan'.[104] This is to ignore the central point that in *Kidnapped* as with *The Dynamiter* and *Jekyll and Hyde* the dramatic irruption of the political into the personal sphere serves to destroy the complacency created by believing the two exist separately.

[103] David's experience therefore emulates Stevenson's own memories of Earraid as a young man when he contemplated his future life:

> In that year cannon were roaring for days together on French battle-fields; and I would sit in my isle (I call it mine, after the use of lovers) and think upon the war, and the loudness of these far-away battles, and the pain of the men's wounds and the weariness of their marching. And I would think too of that other war which is as old as mankind, and is indeed the life of man: the unsparing war, the grinding slavery of competition; the toil of seventy years, dear-bought bread, precarious honour, the perils and pit-falls, and the poor rewards. It was a long look forward; the future summoned me as with trumpet calls, it warned me back as with a voice of weeping and beseeching; and I thrilled and trembled on the brink of life, like a childish bather on the beach. (IX, 73)

[104] Quoted in W. W. Robson, p.93.

This point is further brought to the fore in *Catriona* (1893) as David's attraction to the eponymous daughter of James More inevitably affects his ability to act in the politics surrounding the trial following the Appin murder.

W.W. Robson asks, 'Is it a travel book, or an adventure story, or a historical novel?'[105] Introducing this uncertainty allows Stevenson the freedom to question various ideological associations associated with those three genres. David Daiches criticises Stevenson's portrayal of the Highlands, suggesting that with his ignorance of Gaelic he could only fail to present an accurate representation of Highland life and culture.[106] Such a claim ignores one of the recurring themes of the novel, that of the impossibility of an outsider to a culture being able to claim an authority over it. Kiely's suggestion that 'the natural landscape, for all its atmospheric importance in *Kidnapped*, is not permitted to pose an ultimate threat to the characters' as 'the young hero is able to control and toy with topography' ignores the acute physicality of the description of David's exhaustion as he attempts to keep up with Alan in the flight across the heather.[107] This becomes increasingly apparent if the relationship of David to the land is compared with that of a later hero of romance, Richard Hannay. Buchan's hero has absolutely no difficulty in being able to traverse any landscape he faces, exercising complete control over the geography of the Other. He is the embodiment of the Western imperialist hero who, with Providence and the might of the Empire behind him, is able to traverse any terrain, infiltrating the knowledge and the ways of those 'Others' he encounters, as will be discussed in Chapter Three. In so doing he enacts the process described by Edward Said:

> Imperialism and the culture associated with it affirm the primacy of geography and an ideology about control of territory. The geographical sense makes projections -

[105] Ibid., p.92.
[106] David Daiches, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, p.53.
[107] Robert Kiely, p.84.

> imaginative, cartographic, military, economic, historical, or in a general sense cultural.[108]

David Balfour, however, is unable to claim such a degree of control. The chapters dealing with the 'Flight across the heather' are remarkable for their keen description of the physical hardship David endures:

> the aching and faintness of my body, the labouring of my heart, the soreness of my hands, and the smarting of my throat and eyes in the continual smoke of dust and ashes, had soon grown to be so unbearable that I would gladly have given myself up. (X, 237)

> This was a dreadful time, rendered the more dreadful by the gloom of the weather and the country. I was never warm; my teeth chattered in my head; I was troubled with a very sore throat, such as I had on the isle; I had a painful stitch in my side, which never left me; and when I slept in my wet bed, with the rain beating above and the mud oozing below me, it was to live over again in fancy the worst part of my adventures - to see the tower of Shaws lit by lightning, Ransome carried below on the men's backs, Shaun dying on the round-house floor, or Colin Campbell grasping the bosom of his coat. (X, 255)

In David's travails Stevenson suggests a theme that would later emerge in his South Seas writing, that of the inability of the writer/traveller to claim absolutely the area they explore. This is amply demonstrated in the chapter, 'The Islet', which David describes as 'the most unhappy part of my adventures'(X, 169). Following the sinking of the Covenant David finds himself on the tiny island of Earraid, a place Stevenson himself had visited and had fond memories of as a youth. David's experience of it is not quite so pleasant and is far removed from a Crusoe-like sense of self-sufficiency:

> In all the books I have read of people cast away, they had either their pockets full of tools, or a chest of things would be thrown upon the beach along with them, as if on purpose. My case was very different. I had nothing in

[108] Edward Said, p.93.

> my pockets but money and Alan's silver button; and being inland bred, I was as much short of knowledge as of means. (X, 171)

Here David reveals the extent to which he falls short of the typical image of the resourceful, all-conquering 'inland bred' adventurer; a deer displays a greater measure of resourcefulness:'In the morning I saw a red deer....I supposed he must have swum the straits; though what should bring any creature to Earraid, was more than I could fancy'(X, 173). Here knowledge resides with the Other, in this case a small boat containing a crew of Gaelic-speaking fishermen. They take delight in informing him that instead of miserable days vomiting up shell-fish and pining for the warm fires of Iona he could have waded to comfort (X, 176-177).

The greatest threat to David is less the redcoats or the Highlanders but his ignorance of his own country. On a number of occasions his difficulty in mastering the landscape is matched by his misreading of Highland culture, as when offering money rather than the sign of Alan's silver button to Neil Roy, who takes great offence as one should never 'offer your dirty money to a Hieland shentleman'(X, 188): On this occasion in the Highlands loyalty is of greater importance than Lowland money. In a sharp inversion of the trope of the imperial 'monarch' who, in seeing, is able to claim the land surveyed,[109] even the blind catechist Duncan McKeigh displays a greater degree of knowledge of the topography of the region:

> I said I did not see how a blind man could be a guide; but at that he laughed aloud, and said his stick was eyes enough for an eagle.
>
> 'In the Isle of Mull, at least,' says he, 'where I knew every stone and heather-bush by mark of head. See, now,' he said, striking right and left, as if to make sure, 'down there a burn is running; and at the head of it there stands a bit of a small hill with a stone cocked upon the top of that; and it's hard at the foot of the hill, that the way runs by to Torosay; and the way here, being for

[109] Mary Louise Pratt, pp. 201-206.

> droves is plainly trodden, and will show grassy through the heather.'
>
> I had to own he was right in every feature, and told my wonder. (X, 183)

The theme of surveillance, as David Spurr suggests, is a major feature in imperialist literature as a method of imaginative possession of the land surveyed.[110] In *Kidnapped* it is conveyed by the constant and menacing presence of the red-coats. David's observations on the life of the Highlanders, his position as watcher, is sharply undermined: the watcher becomes the watched. That Stevenson is consciously reacting against a particular brand of imperialist travel writing and fiction is made clear when he has David remark 'By what I have read in books, I think few that have held a pen were ever really wearied, or they would write of it far more strongly'(X, 239). In contrast to David, Alan is able to literally 'read' and translate the landscape to their advantage: to convey a message to his illiterate kinsman John Breck he constructs a cross, one that traditionally told of the rising of the clan but on this occasion conveys Alan's position (X, 227-229).

A contemporary critic was unsettled by Stevenson's refusal to maintain a clear distinction between the two: 'David is a Lowlander and a Whig, Alan is a Jacobite and a Highlander. The contrast is amusing though the points of resemblance are perhaps exaggerated and the points of difference too much ignored'.[111] This misinterprets one of the central points of the novel, that of the difficulty in establishing clear distinctions within Scotland between the states of coloniser and colonised. In conveying the subtle shifts in power between Alan and David, Stevenson avoids the trap of fixing them within a hierarchical relationship of civilised traveller and his noble savage guide. Rothstein is correct to draw attention to the way in which Stevenson blurs the boundaries between Highlander and Lowlander and in so doing reacts against the binary divisions wrought

[110] David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire - Colonial Discourse in Journalism, TravelWriting and Imperial Administration* (London: Duke University Press, 1996), pp.13-27.
[111] An Unsigned Review, Saturday Review 7 August 1886, l, xii, 195-6, in Paul Maxiner (ed.), p.238.

by imperialism at its most strident.[112] However, setting out to fix him rigidly in an anti-imperialist mode denies the true complexity of his depiction of the exchange that takes place between 'coloniser' and 'colonised'. Rothstein glosses over the fact that Stevenson, while exploring the ambiguities of the situation in the Highlands, is seeking a complementary relationship between two apparently opposing sides. This inevitably results in revealing the potential benefits of elements associated with the civilised South, complicating Rothstein's claim that Stevenson 'alludes to the idea that English interference is the ultimate cause of Scotland's blight.'[113] In revealing the ambiguous nature of the terms 'good' and 'bad' in relation to coloniser and colonised, Stevenson implies that there can exist such a thing as the 'benevolent imperialist' and the 'bad savage'.

Stevenson does suggest there may be potential benefits offered by the civilising process, at times portraying the Highlanders as childishly irresponsible.[114] Although David is critical of the Hanoverian repression of Gaelic culture, when it comes to weaponry and so the potential of the Highlanders to pose a serious and potentially violent opposition to the conditions they endure, there is a notable absence of sympathy. His first guide on the Isle of Mull forgets his English when it is convenient for him to do so and later turns on David with a knife (X, 182). The blind catechist is a sinister figure with 'the steel butt of a pistol sticking from under the flap of his coat-pocket'(X, 184). While it is undoubtedly the case that the Hanoverian intervention has violently disrupted Highland society it is clear that Stevenson does not hold it entirely responsible for the infighting and rivalry between clans, particularly in the display of Alan's childish enthusiasm for violence.[115] The description of the condition of 'Cluny's cage' conveys the sense of the inevitable passing of a primitive society with

[112] Jamie Rothstein, p.53.
[113] Ibid.,p.58.
[114] David notes that 'to keep an inn is thought even more genteel in the Highlands than it is with us, perhaps as partaking of hospitality, or perhaps because the trade is drunken and idle' (X, 185).
[115] In 'The Siege of the Roundhouse', while killing most of the crew, 'All the while, the flush was in his face, and his eyes were as bright as a five-year-old child's with a new toy' (X, 146).

Cluny, while retaining a certain nobility in failure, irrational and childlike.[116] Furthermore, the 'rusty Highland dirk' (X, 103) of Uncle Ebeneezer indicates his involvement in the rebellion of 1715 (X, 289) suggesting the complicity of some Highlanders in the cause of Empire within its broader context, and also the at times contingent nature of clan loyalties. Even the archetypal Highland Jacobite, Alan Breck, is revealed as a complex figure capable of shifting loyalties when conditions suit. For all his teasing of David's 'Whiggery'(X, 257), Breck served time in the Hanoverian army, although believes he has made up for this *faux pas* by having 'deserted to the right side at Preston Pans'(X, 156). When David meets him he is recruiting soldiers for the King of France which, although done with the intention of raising money for his clan, positions him as an enemy of Britain (X, 136). Mr Henderland, a member of the Edinburgh Society for Propagating of Christian Knowledge, intent on evangelising in the 'more savage places of the Highlands' (X, 190), is a sympathetic character, embodying the benevolent imperialism Stevenson would later promote in the South Seas.

*Kidnapped* ends on a surprisingly bleak note with David distraught following his leave-taking of Alan. Instead of celebrating the claiming of his inheritance, safe after the trials and tribulations as a fugitive, he feels 'So lost and lonesome, that I could have found it in my heart to sit down by the dyke, and cry and weep like any baby'(X, 306). After entering Edinburgh, instead of rejoicing in the sights of civilisation, he feels 'a cold gnawing in my inside like a remorse for something wrong'(X, 306). In saying goodbye to Alan David has lost an essential part of himself, something that enabled him to connect with previously unknown aspects of both his country and himself. Stevenson maintains a theme consistent with both *The Dynamiter* and *Jekyll and Hyde*, that of the importance of maintaining a close relationship with what might be considered 'savage'

[116] 'There was no end to his questions; he put them as earnestly as a child; and at some of the answers, laughed out of all bounds of reason' (X, 244).

or 'Other' if one is to gain a full sense of self by realising 'the value of community and togetherness over prideful isolation'.[117]

Vanessa Smith, writing on the *Ballads* (1890) Stevenson produced while in Samoa, notes how he 'highlights the way in which writing about the Pacific must negotiate between local and external perspectives, neither of which is finally authoritative or authentic'.[118] The same can be said of his writing on Scotland. Two years following the writing of *Kidnapped* Stevenson travelled to the South Pacific and so found the perfect environment in which to explore the themes discussed within his work: the conflict between the personal and the political, the importance of establishing a dialogue with elements considered 'other'. In the process he was able to reinforce his connection with his Scottish past.

Robert Crawford notes the parallels between the work of J. G. Frazer and that of Stevenson, citing the possible influence of Stevenson on the distinguished anthropologist.[119] The obvious difference between the two figures is that Stevenson unlike Frazer was no armchair anthropologist but experienced 'savage' life in the raw. This would suggest that in Stevenson's South Seas non-fiction we could expect a realistic reportage of life in the region. However, what is of greatest interest in relation to the non-fiction he produced in the South Pacific is the tension he creates between the goal of objective scientific study and the actual life encountered. Neil Rennie complains that the end product reveals Stevenson's uncertainty of intent, the result an uneasy mix of characters and experiences coupled with chunks of anthropology. The absence of narrative leads to *In the South Seas* (1890) being a confusing experience for the reader as a narrative structure 'enables a reader to navigate vicariously in a sea of unfamiliar names and places'.[120] Rennie ignores the fact that this blend of styles in itself reveals

[117] Jamie Rothstein, p.53.
[118] Vanessa Smith, *Literary Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth Century Textual Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.144.
[119] Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.169-173.
[120] 'Introduction' in Neil Rennie (ed.), Robert Louis Stevenson *In the South Seas* (London Penguin Classics, 1988), pp.viii-xxxv, p.xxvi.

Stevenson's intent to analyse the ways in which the South Pacific had previously been represented within the literary discourse associated with imperialism. This was a concern felt by Stevenson himself as he began to realise that his concern with producing a theoretical, overarching study of the area was impossible. So overwhelming was the amount of material he accumulated he despaired of ever completing it. He wrote to Sidney Colvin, 'I want you to understand about this South Sea Book. The job is immense; I stagger under material'. (XXV, 22) The work's original title was to have been *The South Seas*, promising a definitive rendering of the islands dotted about the Pacific ocean.[121] The title change to *In the South Seas* draws attention to the presence of the traveller as author and so to the subjectivity of the account. Furthermore it conveys the impossibility of continuing to remain at one remove, of retaining the position of objective Western observer once the decision is taken to connect with the native populace. Throughout his South Seas work Stevenson reveals the impossibility of the Western visitor being able to capture and so colonise a particular region within the imperial discourse of travel writing.

As is the case with *Kidnapped*, Stevenson's desire to present a totalising account of heterogeneous peoples is constantly undermined by his awareness that there can be no single 'truth' to be communicated. The lines between travel writing and fiction therefore become increasingly blurred. The futility of a writer's attempt to understand an area is heightened. He destabilises the authority of the traveller/narrator and so avoids inscribing the region he visits according to his own understanding. As Smith writes, Stevenson became 'aware of the ways in which exotic environments were resistant to, rather than simply available for, inscription'.[122] Gillian Beer, writing about J.G. Frazer, notes:

[121] In a letter to Sidney Colvin, dated December 2nd 1889, Stevenson writes 'I propose to call the book *The South Seas*'. (XXIV, 363)'
[122] Vanessa Smith, p.107.

> The problem of the observer remains recalcitrant. European observers were granted privileged status [in] the writing of nineteenth-century anthropologists, and not only by those who stayed at home. Field-work is now seen as necessary to professional insight and analysis. But there remains the difficulty of the writer's authorising presence in the writing. That presence is still often granted authority by expunging any *reference* to the observer, in accord with the ethnographic fiction of the invisible anthropologist.[123]

The role of objective observer is a powerful and dangerous one, as it offers the opportunity of setting clear barriers between the observer and the observed, the former being held to be in a position of cultural and racial superiority to the latter. Stevenson notes that 'Marquesan spirits sometimes tear out the eyes of travellers'(XVIII, 175), suggesting that the islanders were aware of the potential danger of the Western gaze. Within Stevenson's South Seas non-fiction are moments when he reveals his position as observer. On discussing the behaviour of Moipu, a chief he took an instant dislike to on the Marquesan island of Atuona, he wonders if the chief's display of 'manners over the mark' meant 'Moipu were quite alone in this polite duplicity, and ask myself whether the *Casco* were quite so much admired in the Marquesas as our visitors desired us to suppose'(XVIII, 126). There is the disconcerting possibility that the act of looking, far from providing a resolutely objective transcription of what occurred, may in fact affect what is being viewed. Stevenson is always open to a sudden, disorientating shift in perspective. During the *Casco*'s first land-fall a photograph album is passed round:

> This sober gallery, their everyday costumes and physiognomies, had become transformed, in three weeks sailing into things wonderful and rich and foreign; alien faces, barbaric dresses, they were now beheld and fingered, in the swerving cabin, with innocent excitement and surprise. (XVIII, 13)

[123]Gillian Beer, 'Speaking for the Others: Relativism and Authority in Victorian Anthropological Literature' in Robert Fraser (ed.) *Sir James Frazer and the Literary Imagination: Essays in Affinity and Influence* (London: MacMillan, 1990), pp. 38-60 (p. 44.)

The 'swerving cabin' literally disallows the Western spectators a safe footing, stable in their position as civilised, distanced observers. Victorian travellers would photograph the different peoples they encountered in the same way some exotic species of animal had to be recorded, firmly establishing the authority of the gaze. Within this 'uncanny' site of disorientation the anthropologist becomes the object of study 'fingered' by those who traditionally feature in travel and ethnographic accounts as objects of study; 'the effigies of Mr. Andrew Lang were admired in the Marquesas'(XVIII,13). The scene turns the panoptical gaze of the West, intent on gathering objective information for a home audience yet gaining a certain voyeuristic pleasure in the act of doing so, back on itself. The distinction between passive observer and those observed becomes increasingly complicated, a situation revealed literally on the occasion of the *Casco*'s first landfall :

> Except for the *Casco* lying outside, and a crane or two, and the ever-busy wind and sea, the face of the world was of prehistoric emptiness; life appeared to stand stock-still, and the sense of isolation was profound and refreshing. On a sudden, the trade-wind, coming in a gust over the isthmus, struck and scattered the fans of the top of the palms above the den; and, behold! in two of the tops there sat a native, motionless as an idol and watching us, you would have said without a wink. The next moment the tree closed, and the glimpse was gone. This discovery of human presences latent over-head in a place where we supposed ourselves to be alone, the immobility of our tree-top spies, and the thought that perhaps at all hours we were similarly supervised, struck us with a chill. Talk languished on the beach. As for the cook (whose conscience was not clear), he never afterwards set foot on shore, and twice, when the *Casco* appeared to be driving on the rocks, it was amusing to observe that man's alacrity; death, he was persuaded, was awaiting him on the beach. It was more than a year later, in the Gilberts, that the explanation dawned upon myself. The natives were drawing palm-tree wine, a thing forbidden by law; and when the wind thus suddenly revealed them, they were doubtless more troubled than ourselves. (XVIII, 23-24)

In this passage the conflict between stereotypical representations of a region considered more 'primitive' than the West and the actual circumstances he encountered are explored. The area is described as outside present historical time as an Edenic place of repose for travelling Westerners. The arrival of the 'trade-wind' shatters this illusion. The belief that they were under observation causes communication to 'languish'. That this should happen 'on the beach' is of particular significance. Due to the presence of Western traders the beaches of South Sea islands were the sites most associated with cross-cultural exchange.[124] To 'go native' was something colonial officials, missionaries and travellers were warned against but as the above extract demonstrates to gain a fair and accurate sense of a place it is necessary to answer and return the gaze of those both observed and observing. The realisation of their isolation from the native knowledge of the area that would offer an explanation of the incident results in communication ceasing. Contact is necessary for a fuller, creative understanding. Stevenson adds a final twist to the tale by suggesting the apparently accusatory natives actually suffered the same feelings of guilt and shame as those experienced by the intrusive Westerners. Through such careful use of irony he is able to chart the continual shifts and exchanges in power that take place between the potential coloniser and the colonial subject.

It might be suggested that this Stevenson was a hypocritical figure, that he occupied the uneasy position of the anti-imperialist imperialist. However, as should be clear from my earlier discussion, it should come as no surprise that Stevenson should continue to evade the fixed position of either 'imperialist' or 'anti-imperialist'. While in Apia he writes if he could have his time over again a man he would love to be is General Gordon, hardly the ideal role-model for one fighting on behalf of those repressed by imperial forces.[125] This suggests he was drawn by the romance of taking on the role of

[124] Vanessa Smith, pp. 27-33.
[125] Stevenson writes that he would 'hardly change with any man of my time, unless perhaps it were Gordon.' Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew (eds.), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Vol. Seven, p.186.

national saviour, as in the earlier example of his planned intervention in the Irish situation, rather than giving it proper adult consideration. At times his behaviour, particularly on such an occasion as the arrival of Lady Jersey, suggests a boyish enthusiasm that tips over into flippancy, denying the serious and potentially dangerous political situation of Samoa.[126] Such ill-considered self-indulgence set alongside his paternalistic rule over 'Subpriorsford' creates the image of a romantic, politically naïve idealist dilletantishly taking up the exotic cause of the Samoans merely to fulfil his fantasies of recreating the Jacobite rebellion.[127]

However, Stevenson cannot be criticised for confusing reportage with romantic adventure as the imperial discourse he had to write within constantly blurs the boundaries between anthropology, romance fiction and journalism. As John J. Grauer notes Stevenson 'had no problem with writing strictly fictional adventures, highly autobiographical and fact based but still fictional stories, and also straightforward travel narrative seeing them all as parts of the writing of adventure, for the entertainment and education of armchair adventurers'.[128] This generic blending was a convention of the adventure narrative as can be seen in the anthropological digressions of a work like *King Solomon's Mines*. It is only to be expected that Stevenson's journalism should display some of the generic conventions of the romance as, considering the difficulty in convincing a British audience of the importance of Samoa, to introduce an adventure-

[126] Stevenson writes:

> How am I to describe my life these last few days? I have been wholly swallowed up in politics, a wretched business, with fine elements of farce in it too, which repay a man in passing, involving many dark and many moonlight rides, secret counsels which are at once divulged, sealed letters which are read aloud in confidence to the neighbours, and a mass of fudge and fun, which would have driven me crazy ten years ago, and now makes me smile. (XXV, 105)

[127] In a letter to Sidney Colvin Stevenson describes Vailima as 'Subpriorsford' alluding in self-mocking fashion to Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford estate. As Booth and Mehew point out a subprior is two levels down from an abbot. Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew (eds.) *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson* Vol. Seven, p.249.

[128] John J. Grauer Jr. *Progress and Degeneration: Adventure fiction at the End of the Frontier*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Illinois, 1996, p.158.

like narrative was the only way in which to excite interest in his readership.[129] As Menikoff points out 'It must not be forgotten that Stevenson was writing at the end of the nineteenth century, when colonial and imperial expansion was at the centre of European politics'.[130] In *A Footnote to History* (1892) alongside the conventions of romance appears sharp criticism of the behaviour of the colonising nations: 'Three nations were engaged in this infinitesimal affray, and not one appears with any credit' (XVII, 25). The book also contains warnings against attitudes of superiority towards the native islanders. On discussing the rules of property within Samoa in which a relative or friend can claim from another a good that takes their fancy:

> It is there as it is with us at home; the measure of the abuse of either system is the blackness of the individual heart. The same man, who would drive his poor relatives from his own door in England, would besiege in Samoa the doors of the rich. (XVII, 13-14)

As in *Kidnapped*, Stevenson wishes to draw attention to the alternative narratives which challenge that offered by the Western powers. It was his intent to bring those elements considered 'outside history' into the narrative of world history. This he does by highlighting the tension between written official records and the oral history of Samoa itself. Stevenson tells the reader that 'He will find more of the history of Samoa spread before his eyes in that excursion, than has yet been collected in the blue-books or the white-books of the world' (XVII, 16). Of the German firm that seeks to command the region 'Even from the deck of an approaching ship, the island is seen to bear its signature - zones of cultivation showing in a more vivid tint of green on the dark vest of forest' (XVII, 20), highlighting the use of written records to gain control over the region. That the exiled king Laupepa's name should translate to 'Sheet of Paper'

[129] At one point a young fighter 'with the end of his nose missing' appears at a store close to the fighting requesting painkillers to be provided quickly so he may return to the field of battle. (XVII, 80) There is the sense that Stevenson had to restrain himself from providing a Samoan equivalent to 'Am I no' a bonny fighter?' (X, 136).
[130] Barry Menikoff, p.149.

(XVII, 46) further draws attention to the fact that natives are regarded as existing in a 'blank' state, requiring the authority of a literature to put them in order.

Stevenson reveals the way in which an anthropological awareness of the region might result in a colonial administration that is sympathetic to the governed population. Wendy James has discussed the way in which the colonial anthropologist frequently occupies an ambiguous position in relation to the colonial administration. She notes that 'as an individual, the anthropologist can often appear as a critic of colonial policy, of the philosophy of western superiority upon which it was based...he was usually at odds with the various administrators, missionaries, and other local Europeans he had dealings with'.[131] Yet the appearance of co-operation had to be sustained as the anthropologist was dependent upon colonial support in order to retain his position. As the reaction of the British authorities to Stevenson's refusal to remain silent about the Samoan situation reveals, he could not occupy the position of 'anti-imperialist' and hope to remain; hence his willingness to occupy a position 'betwixt-and-between'.[132] *A Footnote to History* highlights the importance for colonial officials of acquiring anthropological knowledge in order to provide sympathetic rule. The disruption caused by the shift from a feudal, subsistence economy to one based on wage-labour reveals the difficulty in translating a cultural concept to a new environment in which the language does not exist for it to be adequately explained.

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[131]Wendy James, 'The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist' in Talal Asad (ed.), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973), pp.41-69 (p.42).

[132] Following his letters to *The Times* that drew attention to the poor treatment of the Samoans by the German, American and British interests, Stevenson was frequently threatened with deportation, a threat that intensified after the publication of *A Footnote to History*. Stevenson's reaction to the threat in a letter to Charles Lowe reveals the extent to which he considered himself responsible for publicising the events he described:

> I may be deported; I shall not willingly set foot outside this isle for many a long day. As for Europe, not even the German Emperor could get me there. I have no use for the place, Not amusing. There is nothing to go back to Europe for but music, and I can do without that; having here health, work, good weather, entertainment, a perpetual menace (at least) of adventure[...]

Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew (eds.) *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Vol. Seven, p.416.

> For the Samoan [...] there is something barbaric, unhandsome, and absurd in the idea of thus growing food only to send it from the land and sell it. A man at home who should turn all Yorkshire into one wheatfield, and annually burn his harvest on the altar of Mumbo-Jumbo, might impress ourselves not much otherwise. (XVII, 27)

Stevenson therefore presents the position of being 'betwixt-and-between' as a beneficial, necessary one for both coloniser and colonised.

This sense of being 'betwixt and between' extends to the concern displayed in his South Seas fiction to destroy the division between the domestic world of Britain and the events that took place on the frontier of Empire. The opening sentence of 'The Beach of Falesá' is immediately suggestive of Stevenson's desire to explore the ambiguities thrown up by the encounter between representatives of the West and those native to the South Seas: 'I saw that island first when it was neither night nor morning' (XVII, 193). Stevenson goes on to paint a scene both romantic and idyllic of the island when first sighted.

> The moon was to the west, setting but still broad and bright. To the east, and right amidships of the dawn, which was all pink, the daystar sparkled like a diamond. (XVII, 193)

The island is established as being caught between geographical and temporal zones, set within both the East and the West and between night and day, symbolising the 'progress' represented by the white traders and the 'primitive' nature of the inhabitants. The opening foretells the blurring of various boundaries - geographical, moral and racial - that will take place within the story. As in the case of David Balfour, Dr Jekyll and Jim Hawkins, Wiltshire finds himself existing within the gap between his own belief system and the complex, challenging reality he encounters. In his depiction of Wiltshire, Stevenson reveals the impossibility of maintaining a John Bullish separation from those

defined as the colonial Other. He finds himself in a world where the fixed suppositions of racism rather than being confirmed are undermined, that the identities ascribed to 'savage' and 'civilised' peoples are not fixed but rather performative roles: 'a Negro is counted as a white man - and so is a Chinese! A strange idea, but common in the islands' (XVII, 198).

Even at its most melodramatic the story disallows the possibility of readers comfortably distancing themselves from the events described. The death of Case is not portrayed as a heroic battle between good and evil but rather a confused and bloodthirsty scrap, upsetting the expected moral clarity of the adventure tale. Wiltshire recalls how he 'gave him the cold steel for all I was worth. His body kicked under me like a spring sofa' (XVII, 267) and the 'blood came over my hands, I remember, hot as tea' (XVII, 267). The reference to a 'spring sofa' and 'tea' creates an unsettling combination of the domestic world, familiar to Western readers, and the violent world of action associated with the colonial frontier. Rod Edmond notes that in 'The Beach of Falesá' an adventure tale ends as a 'domestic-problem story'[133] as Wiltshire's battle against the corrupt trader Case runs in parallel with the depiction of his relationship with his island bride Uma. Rather than presenting a boy's own adventure Stevenson tackles the inevitable results of colonisation: miscegenation. The inability of the ideological concepts associated with imperialism to contend with the reality of life in the colonies is literally brought home to Wiltshire as he contemplates the future of his daughters by Uma.

> My public house? Not a bit of it, nor ever likely. I'm stuck here, I fancy. I don't like to leave the kids, you see - and there's no use talking - they're better here than what they would be in a white man's country, though Ben took the eldest up to Auckland, where he's being schooled with the best. But what bothers me is the girls. They're only half castes of course; I know that as well as you do, and there's nobody thinks less of half castes

[133] Rod Edmond, p. 176.

> than I do; but they're mine, and about all I've got. I can't reconcile my mind to their taking up with Kanakas, and I'd like to know where I'm to find them whites? (XVII, 270-271)

Rothstein's assessment that 'The Beach of Falesá' reveals 'the imperial endeavor...in all is degeneracy and corruption' is only true to a certain extent as Stevenson was well aware that he occupied a similar position to that of Wiltshire and did believe in the creative potential of colonial contact.[134] To suggest 'nothing about 'Beach' supports or affirms the myth of imperialism' is justified as Stevenson reveals the narrow-minded racism and exploitation concealed by high-minded imperialist discourse. However, in his depiction of the relationship between Uma and Wiltshire he remains optimistic of the potentially beneficial results of contact brought about through imperialist expansionism revealing what J. C. Furnas refers to as 'the hybrid vigor of exile'.[135] As Katherine Bailey Linehan suggests:

> the story's emphasis on uncertainty and ambiguity stems from Stevenson's interest in dramatizing through his tough-talking hero a sense of the unsettling and disorientating shift or even inversion of perspectives that comes with pulling back from the society of white European males and engaging with Polynesia and Polynesians at a level of considerable emotional receptivity.[136]

Uncertainty and ambiguity becomes the only means by which to deal adequately with the exchanges that take place on the colonial frontier. For all its exotic setting, the story maintains the interest Stevenson displays in his early work of disrupting the distinctions between here and there, the political and the personal. The bleak atmosphere ascribed to *The Ebb-tide* stems from the unwillingness of the protagonists to make any effort to

[134] Jamie Rothstein, p.154.
[135] Furnas writes'Geneticists speak of a 'hybrid vigor', meaning that sometimes the crossing of two varieties produces in certain consequent individuals a plant or animal larger or stronger than either parent.' J. C. Furnas, 'Stevenson in Exile', p.140.
[136] Kathleen Bailey Linehan, 'Taking Up with Kanakas: Stevenson's Complex Social Criticism in 'The Beach of Falesá'', *English Literature in Transition (1880-1920)*, 33, Vol.4,pp.407-422. (p.415).

connect with the native culture of the Pacific and also reveals the extent to which the rigid class hierarchy maintained in the Mother Country justified the worst excess of colonial exploitation found wherever the British flag flew.

The extent to which Stevenson himself engaged with Polynesian culture was greatly facilitated by his knowledge of the Highlands as is demonstrated in the extract below.

> It was perhaps yet more important that I had enjoyed in my youth some knowledge of our Scots folk of the Highlands and the Islands. Not much beyond a century has passed since these were in the same convulsive and transitionary state as the Marquesans of to-day. In both cases an alien authority enforced, the clans disarmed, the chiefs deposed, new customs introduced, and chiefly that fashion of regarding money as the means and object of existence. [...] The grumbling, the secret ferment, the fears and resentments, the alarms and sudden council of Marquesan chiefs, reminded me continually of the days of Lovat and Struan. (XVIII, 14)

Edmond highlights the way in which Stevenson's knowledge of the Highlands allowed him the means by which he could assimilate 'the strange to the familiar'.[137] Stevenson could be criticised for such a technique as it reiterates a standard trope of Western travellers writing about foreign regions, an inability to represent a culture in and of itself but rather as a variation on a Western norm. His description of the Marquesan chiefs can be criticised for emphasizing their supposed primitivism as they pass through a stage of development, from feudalism to capitalism, experienced in Scotland 150 years ago. However, this fails to take into account the possible complicated response such a passage might generate in a Scottish reader. Difference could result in a challenge to the Western epistemology but it could also be used to distance the reader totally from the peoples they are being introduced to, fixing them firmly in the position of the Other. Stevenson limits the possibility of such a disavowal of contact between people on

[137] Rod Edmond, p.163.

opposite sides of the globe. V. G. Kiernan suggests of Stevenson that his 'belonging to Europe's Celtic fringe, not separated by a barrier of centuries from a primitive past' allowed for a sympathy between himself and the ways of the South Seas islanders. [138] By linking the colonial struggle he was then experiencing in Samoa with a period of Scottish history the repercussions of which were still being felt he succeeds in politicising the romantic past linking it with the colonial exploitation that existed on the other side of the globe. Stevenson's nostalgia, rather than proving 'debilitating', is an energising force that enables him to connect directly to the political struggle of the Samoans.

Stevenson by positioning the Highlands as a region that experienced colonisation disrupts the distinctions between the Briton as coloniser and the colonised Other. That Stevenson saw the Highlands as a means of understanding both history and that which lay outside history is indicated in his plans for his account of the transformation of the Scottish Highlands. He displays a concern for tackling questions concerning clanship and race, describing it as being of 'scientific interest', suggesting he was not concerned purely with producing a historical narrative, but wished to examine questions relating to 'primitive' life.[139] In one of several letters he sent to his father for information on the topic he asks:

> If the men were like the chieftains of un-Celtic origin, and yet, as in the case of the Frasers, typical Highland clansmen, this must have been merely by conformity with their surroundings?[140]

In October 1891, a month prior to the beginning of *A Footnote to History*, he wrote to Sidney Colvin:

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[138] V. G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European attitudes towards the outside world in the Imperial Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p.255.
[139] Letter to Dora Norton Williams in Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew (eds.), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Vol. Three, p.136.
[140] Ibid., p.132.

> Now Scotch is the only history I know; it is the only history reasonably represented in my library; it is a very good one for my purpose, owing to two civilisations having been face to face throughout - or rather Roman civilisation face to face with an ancient barbaric life and government, down to yesterday, to 1750 anyway...Scott never knew - never saw - the Highlands; he was always a Borderer. He has missed that whole, long, strange, pathetic story of our savages [...]. (XXV,117)

Instead of writing about his homeland, however, Stevenson realised that on Samoa, as he describes in a letter to Sidney Colvin, 'Here under the microscope we can see history at work' (XXV, 67) and so began work on *A Footnote to History*. The history of the Highlanders becomes a means both to connect with the situation affecting contemporary Samoa and of reconnecting with the Scotland of the past.

The blending of demotic culture with literary that is found in his Scottish fiction also facilitated a close sense of cultural contact and exchange between himself and the peoples of the South Pacific.[141] The importance of story-telling as a means of granting access to the ways of islanders is highlighted in the passage below:

> It was so that I hit upon a means of communication which I recommend to travellers. When I desired any detail of savage custom, or of superstitious belief, I cast back in the story of my fathers, and fished for what I wanted with some trait of equal barbarism: Michael Scott, Lord Derwentwater's head, the second-sight, the Water Kelpie, - each of these I have found to be a killing bait; the black bull's head of Stirling procured me the legend of *Rahero*; and what I knew of the Cluny Macphersons, or the Appin Stewarts, enabled me to learn, and helped me to understand, about the *Tevas* of Tahiti. (XVII,15-16)

[141] Barry Menikoff in his study of the publishing history of *The Beach of Falesà* notes: 'He wrote with an ear tuned to the language, aiming toward greater ease and flexibility in idiom, and away from the 'literary' and conventional.' Barry Menikoff, *Robert Louis Stevenson and 'The Beach of Falesà' : A Study in Victorian Publishing'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), p. 50.

Linguistic similarities are similarly noted in a manner that at first appears to reify a belief in 'advanced' and 'primitive, backwards' societies. Referring to Marquesan examples he writes:

> The elision of medial consonants [...] is no less common both in Gaelic and in Lowland Scots. Stranger still, that prevalent Polynesian sound, the so-called catch, written with an apostrophe, and often or always the gravestone of a perished consonant, is to be heard in Scotland to this day. (XVII, 14-15)

Stevenson's language is coloured by the then current debates surrounding language by which distinctions were made between sophisticated and degenerate languages: 'gravestone' marks a 'perished consonant' thereby suggesting the languages mentioned literally speak of decay. Paradoxically, however, these 'barbaric voids' mark a point of contact. The absence of the correct rules of proper English result in a connection made between cultures on opposite sides of the globe. By making a connection between his own heritage and the ways of the South Pacific islanders, Stevenson mitigates any sense of racial or cultural superiority his references to 'decay' might suggest. The languages of the Pacific therefore enables a literal translation between the Scottish past and his present day surroundings.

Stevenson therefore suggests an intimate relationship between the 'barbarous' elements that exist out of history and time and the History of civilisation, the former underpinning and revealing the true nature of the latter. This is evident in *Catriona*, a novel which as Emma Letley has argued was clearly influenced by Stevenson's experience of the 'colonial carve-up' taking place in Samoa.[142] Instead of the action of *Kidnapped* the story of *Catriona* follows David Balfour's increasing disillusionment with the supposedly civilised world of politics as he attempts to rescue James of the Glens, accused of the Appin murder, from being sentenced to death. Throughout the

[142] Emma Letley, 'Introduction' to Robert Louis Stevenson *Kidnapped* and *Catriona* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.xx.

novel Stevenson suggests there is little division between the 'civilised' world of law, politics and history and the savage world of violence, tribal warfare and myth. As in Samoa he was able to witness the interplay between one world view and the other, Scotland of the eighteenth century becomes the site of the interchange between the two. This is most obviously demonstrated in Chapter XV, 'Black Andie's Tale of Tod Lapraik'. As Letley comments, the chapter does not advance the narrative; at the time the story is told David is trapped on the Bass Rock, unable to advance the cause of James of the Glen.[143] The Rock is therefore a point outside time and history as represented by politics and yet 'full of history, both human and divine'(XI, 129). It is a site of the *unco* or 'uncanny' (XI, 135), fitting for Andie's tale of doppelgangers that acts as a counterpoint to David's realisation of the duplicitous nature of the men he must challenge, those who use the cover of law in order to exact tribal revenge. Paradoxically, the 'savage' oral tradition is therefore able to uncover the duplicitous nature of those who consider themselves civilised. Far from representing linear progress History is revealed as cyclical and savage. As David states on hearing of the death of James:

> So there was the final upshot of my politics! Innocent men have perished before James, and are like to keep on perishing (in spite of our wisdom) till the end of time. And till the end of time young folk (who are not yet used with the duplicity of life and men) will struggle as I did, and make heroical resolves, and take long risks; and the course of events will push them upon the one side and go on like a marching army. (XI, 196-197)

Prestongrange's definitions of 'Highlanders civilised' and those families that remain 'barbarians' (XI, 42) are revealed as arbitrary and politically motivated as James of Glens is lawfully murdered by men who 'were decent, kind, respectable fathers of families, who went to the kirk and took the sacrament!'(XI, 197) However, while the external world of politics is a means of maintaining old tribal divisions, within the

[143] Ibid., p.xxiv.

domestic sphere Stevenson does suggest the possibility of a rapprochement being achieved. The novel is told to the offspring of a 'mixed marriage' between a Lowlander and Highlander. As in 'The Beach of Falesá' Stevenson suggests it is in the maligned sphere of the domestic that the strife associated with colonial troubles can achieve resolution.

Stevenson's *Ballads* reveal the extent to which his contact with the oral culture of the South Seas continued and heightened his interest in blurring distinctions between 'here' and 'there'. That this should be the case becomes apparent if a comparison is made between the way in which Andrew Lang used and presented his collected folktales to Stevenson's response. Lang collected folktales from around the world in the belief that by examining the myths of savage societies it would be possible to learn of the early stages in the development of Western civilisation.[144] In an attempt to avoid treating folk tales from other parts of the world as museum artefacts, Lang is careful in his use of the word 'primitive' in relation to 'savage' cultures. As Andreas de Cocq states it is used 'not so much for its logical as for its chronological meaning.[145]' Lang is not using the term 'primitive' to denote backwardness but rather to suggest that other cultures have remained in a prior stage of development. Coupled with this non-evaluative stance is his attempt to undermine the implicitly racist assumptions of 'mythologists' who 'will vow that it is unscientific to compare a Maori or a Hottentot or an Eskimo myth with an Aryan story, because Maoris and Eskimos and Hottentots do not speak languages akin to that of Greece.[146]' To a certain extent Robert Crawford is correct to suggest Lang's armchair anthropology promoted a sense of cultural relativism.[147]

Nevertheless Lang's thought remained bound to theories of evolutionism. He maintains a sense of temporal distance between his own 'civilised' world and those of

[144] Andrew Lang, 'The Method of Folklore' in *Custom and Myth*, pp.10-29.
[145] Antonius de Cocq, *Andrew Lang: a Nineteenth Century Anthropologist* (Zwijsen Tilburg: University of Zwijsen Tilburg Press, 1968), p.100.
[146] Andrew Lang, p.23.
[147] Robert Crawford, p.174.

'barbarian cultures'. In referring to 'the ideas which are in our time but not of it' Lang places savage cultures outside the 'now' of Western civilised society.[148] In contrast Stevenson's *Ballads* and such stories as 'The Bottle Imp'(1893) confuse the boundaries between the 'mythological' time of the South Sea islanders and the 'now' of Western civilisation. The footnotes to 'The Song of Rahéro' draw attention to the collaborative nature of Stevenson's translation of the legend; 'as many as five different persons have helped me with the details' (XIV, 211). While the tale itself is from 'tradition' and so is timeless such comments as Stevenson's gloss on the use of the word 'flies' places the tale within its geographical context, suggesting the layering of the mythic world and the actual location, Taiarapu, a peninsula of Tahiti where Rahéro was supposed to have lived. The note reads:

> " *Flies.*" This is perhaps an anachronism. Even speaking of to-day in Tahiti, the phrase would have to be understood as referring mainly to mosquitoes, and these only in watered valleys with close woods, such as I suppose to form the surroundings of Rahéro's homestead. Quarter of a mile away, where the air moves freely, you will look in vain for one. (XIV, 211)

In contrast Stevenson suggests 'The Feast of Famine' 'rests upon no authority' (XIV, 213). Instead it is 'but a patchwork of details of manners and the impressions of a traveller'(XIV, 213). By revealing the artfulness of the ballad Stevenson draws a clear distinction between his aims as a writer and those of the anthropological folklorist. Instead of a story becoming a museum piece, as the statuary in his poem to Sidney Colvin, an artefact drawn out of its cultural context, it is recreated in a new, hybridised form. 'The Bottle Imp' also draws on local legend but in the trials of Keawe and Kokua Stevenson is able to comment on the economic exploitation of the area by the West and the epidemic of leprosy affecting the islands.

[148] Andrew Lang, p.11.

This was a two way process, one that caused him to become aware of the primitive at home as reflected in his South Seas poetry and powerfully communicated in a poem he wrote for his friend Sidney Colvin, curator of the British Museum, entitled 'To S. C.':

> Lo, now, when to your task in the great house
> At morning through the portico you pass,
> One moment glance, where by the pillared wall
> Far voyaging island gods, begrimed with smoke,
> Sit now unworshipped, the rude monument
> Of faiths forgot and races undivined:
> Sit now disconsolate, remembering well
> The priest, the victim, and the songful crowd,
> The blaze of the blue noon, and that huge voice,
> Incessant, of the breakers on the shore.
> As far as these from their ancestral shrine,
> So far, so foreign, your divided friends
> Wander, estranged in body, not in mind. (XIV, 245)

As Edwin Morgan points out, what is striking about the poem is the way in which Stevenson identifies himself with the 'rude monument' of a primitive religion as a 'divided' friend, both 'there' and 'not there'.[149] While in Samoa Stevenson became sharply aware of the 'multifarious' nature of Scotland, the way in which the past and present, the primitive and the civilised, were intimately intertwined. As the authors of *The Empire Writes Back* suggest, literate societies introduce to oral communities 'a different kind of consciousness that might be described as 'historical'.[...] It allows scrutiny of a fixed past.' This exists in contrast to the mythic, 'cyclic' world of oral cultures that contain the assumption that 'words, uttered under appropriate circumstances, have the power to bring into being the events or states they stand for, to embody rather than represent reality'.[150] It is this tension which Stevenson explores in *Weir of Hermiston* (1896). Writing on the work of Wilson Harris, Kirsten Holst Peterson and Anna Rutherford comment

[149] Edwin Morgan, 'The Poetry of Robert Louis Stevenson' in *Scottish Literary Journal*, 2, 1974, pp.29-44 (p.41).
[150] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, p.81.

> Floating around in the psyche of each one of us are all the fossil identities. By entering into a fruitful dialogue with the past one becomes able to revive fossils that are buried within oneself and are part of one's ancestors.[151]

As the discussion of *Jekyll and Hyde* has demonstrated Stevenson was well aware of the 'fossil identities' contained within our psyches. The conditions of Samoa enabled him to enter into the fruitful dialogue between the 'savage' and the 'civilised', the mythic and history. 'Fossilised' history coexisting with the present is brought to the fore in the 'Introductory' of *Weir of Hermiston.* It describes a cairn in a moorland parish where 'Public and domestic history have [...] marked with a bloody finger this hollow among the hills'(XIX, 159). The site was once referred to as the Deil's Hags and then Francie's Cairn but:

> the age is one of incredulity; these superstitious decorations speedily fell off; and the facts of the story itself, like the bones of a giant buried there and half dug up, survived, naked and imperfect, in the memory of the scattered neighbours. (XIX, 159)

'Survivals' or 'fossils', paradoxically, remain a living presence, continuing to influence and affect the present day. Kirstie Elliot's story of the four brothers, their murder of Dickieson, as in 'Black Andie's Tale of Tod Lapraik' in *Catriona*, brings an element of folk-tale and myth into the novel. Kirstie is closely related with the primitive and is the most sympathetic character in the novel as she rejects the emotional hypocrisies of the civilised life represented by Lord Hermiston. She responds to Adam Weir's treatment of his wife with 'rustic fury' (XIX, 172) and on the death of her mistress addresses Lord Hermiston 'in the high, false note of barbarous mourning, such as still lingers

[151] Kirsten Holst Peterson and Anna Rutherford, 'Fossil and Psyche' from *Enigma of Values: An Introduction to Wilson Harris* (Aarhus: Dangeroo Press, 1976) repr. in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (Routledge: London, 1995), pp.185-189 (p.185).

modified among Scots heather'(XIX, 173). The central dilemma of the novel is whether Archie Weir will be able to resolve the tension that exists between the 'civilised savagery' of his father and the emotionally honest yet violent, primitive world represented by the world of Kirstie and the brothers Elliott.

As in *Catriona* one of the central themes is the way in which the civilised world attempts to conceal its savagery. The most dramatic instance of this is Archie's reaction to his father's decision to hang the pathetic criminal Duncan Jopp. The description of Hermiston's pleasure draws a parallel between the supposedly civilised world of law and that of the primeval. When sentencing the 'words were strong in themselves; the light and heat and detonation of their delivery, and the savage pleasure of the speaker at his task, made them tingle in the ears (XIX, 182-183). The judge had 'pursued him [Jopp] with a monstrous, relishing gaiety, horrible to be conceived, a trait for nightmares'(XIX, 183). Following this display Archie Weir is unable to decide whether this pillar of the Establishment is 'God or Satan' (XIX, 184) and suffers the crisis experienced with less violence by David Balfour as he realises that History, as represented by his father, rather than progressive and enlightened is in reality cyclical and violent.

> Archie passed by his friends in the High Street with incoherent words and gestures. He saw Holyrood in a dream, remembrance of its romance awoke in him and faded; he had a vision of old radiant stories, of Queen Mary and Prince Charlie, of the hooded stag, of splendour and crime, the velvet and bright iron of the past; and dismissed them with a cry of pain. He lay and moaned in the Hunter's Bog, and the heavens were dark above him and the grass of the field an offence. 'This is my father,' he said. 'I draw my life from him; the flesh upon my bones is his, the bread I am fed with is the wages of these horrors.' He recalled his mother, and ground his forehead in the earth. He thought of flight, and where was he to flee to? of other lives, but was there any life worth living in this den of savage and jeering animals? (XIX, 183)

Archie is unable to escape into the romantic comforts 'the velvet and bright iron' of the history and culture of a civilised society following his realisation of the brutality of his father. Instead he thinks of the capital as a 'den of savage and jeering animals'.

Instead of MacDiarmid's determination to confine Stevenson to the past, the writers associated with the Scottish Renaissance frequently carry forward the themes he explores: Lewis Grassic Gibbon, Neil Gunn, Naomi Mitchison and Lewis Spence all display an interest in connecting with 'primitive' cultures in an attempt to provide a revitalised sense of the Scottish nation. Although Stevenson's sense of Scotland's peculiar position within the Empire gained its most thorough expression in the writing produced in the South Seas, what this chapter has hoped to demonstrate is that prior to his connection with the culture of the Pacific Scotland had provided him with the sympathies necessary to bring this about. There is a far greater degree of thematic continuity between an early work such as *Treasure Island* and the later work, such as the very different 'Beach of Falesá', than might first be supposed. A neglected work like *The Dynamiter* demonstrates the extent to which Stevenson's experience of travel fed into his literature, enabling him to combine and confuse 'here' and 'there', the centre and periphery. The 'indeterminate' state of Scotland, its combination of the civilised and the savage, disallowed the possibility of clear boundaries between such binarism. By reading *Kidnapped* within the tradition of imperial adventure literature Stevenson's literary experimentalism suggests that far from capitulating to the demands of Empire he was exploring and deconstructing its discourse. Self and Other, here and there, are revealed in Stevenson's work as arbitrary concepts. Today, when issues related to the consequences globalisation will have on the future of national identities are increasingly discussed, Stevenson appears increasingly prescient as he reveals the multiple identities created when cultures combine. This was a feature he shared with a near contemporary of his and the subject of the following chapter, R. B. Cunninghame Graham.

# Chapter Two:
# R. B. Cunninghame Graham—Between the Empire and the Kailyard

As the introduction and discussion of Robert Louis Stevenson has hoped to demonstrate, the critical apparatus applied by Scottish critics to Scotland's 'exiled' writers frequently disallows a true appreciation of their work. By maintaining this inferiorist interpretation of 'the wandering Scot', the possibility of a dialogue between Scotland and other nations is denied, the fact that 'Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale', and so 'No one today is purely one thing' ignored.[1] One writer to suffer from this neglect is Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, known due to his Spanish ancestry as 'Don Roberto' to his closest friends. Although Edwin Morgan mentions Graham as a model of the Scot as Internationalist[2] in the past he has received limited critical attention. Prior to Watts and Davies' biography, critics prioritised the life above the writing in a manner similar to the case of Stevenson.[3] Such an attitude is perhaps more understandable in the case of Graham as after many adventures in Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina and Texas, extensive travelling around Europe, followed by four years as Member of Parliament for North-west Lanark, he began writing relatively late in life, producing work that proves difficult to categorise. He began publishing sketches in the *Saturday Review* and his first book, *Notes*

[1] Edward Said, p.407.
[2] Edwin Morgan, 'Now Voyagers' in *The Scotsman Festival Supplement*, 26 August, 1999, 4-5 (p.4).
[3] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, *Cunninghame Graham: a critical biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). The biographies and critical studies that appeared prior to Watts and Davies carry on Graham's tradition of 'faction'. H.F.West's *A Modern Conquistador* (London: Cranley and Day, 1932) begins with West assuring us: 'There is no one so well qualified to write about Cunninghame Graham as Cunnighame Graham himself. His stories, with few exceptions, are autobiographical, and even these are filled with his quixotic and ironic point of view. [...] So in this I have, wherever possible, allowed him to speak for himself'. (pxiii). Richard E.Haymaker's *Prince Errant and the Evocator of Horizons* (Kingsport Tennessee, 1967) is a useful critical overview of Graham's output but again reads the work as the life. William Spencer Child's *The Contribution of Cunninghame Graham to the Literature of Travel* (Philadelphia, 1947) makes the claim that Graham should not be considered a writer of fiction at all but primarily as a travel writer, a view that, although offering a useful re-contextualisation, underestimates the complexity of Graham's writing. A. F. Tschiffely's *Don Roberto* (London: Heinemann, 1936), as will be discussed later, includes quotes from Graham's sketches without identifying them as such thereby encouraging the misleading assumption that Graham's writing is purely autobiographical.

*on the District of Menteith,* appeared in 1895 when he was aged 43.[4] Despite producing twenty-eight books in the years 1895 to 1936, garnering a reputation as a true 'writer's writer' and many literary friends, including Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw and most notably Joseph Conrad, he chose to style himself as a literary amateur. Nevertheless, his writing proves a remarkably rich source of material for the themes of this study. It enables us to hear the voice of one of the loudest critics of Empire, a position that has yet to be fully appreciated by modern day theorists, reveals the peculiar nature of the Scot within the British Empire and suggests why a Scottish writer would be particularly sensitive to the stereotyping of peoples from other cultures.

Although Graham published many volumes of sketches during his lifetime as he returned time and time again to his early travels they display relatively little stylistic or thematic development. As a result although this chapter will begin with early examples of his writing, most notably *Notes on the District of Mentieth* and arguably his most successful work, *Mogreb el-Acksa*, it will not be structed strictly according to chronology but rather will deal with the issues he raises thematically.

Graham's importance extends to the way in which he serves to establish a line of development from members of the group associated with the Celtic Twilight, most notably Patrick Geddes, to the themes explored during the interwar period by the writers of the Scottish Renaissance, right through to the modern day with the work of Kenneth White. Although the countries Graham wrote most frequently about, in particular South America and Texas, were not part of the British Empire, these regions had experienced the efforts of modernisers determined to rid lands of the savage in order to make way for the civilised. Watts and Davies state:

> Like his friend Conrad, Graham too had bi-focal vision. [...] It is true that he had his advantages, the money, the estates, the patrician upbringing; but few people with those advantages

[4] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Notes on the District of Menteith, for Tourists and Others* (London: Black, 1895). Further references are embedded in the text.

> have been so energetic in crossing frontiers - frontiers between countries, vocations, social classes and personal outlooks.[5]

Both Graham and Stevenson demonstrate, as Richard Phillips suggests, 'how travel can destablize dualisms and stereotypes' and, moreover, how travel can allow for a greater understanding of the country left behind.[6]

One of the aims of this chapter is to illustrate the many parallels that exist between Graham and his contemporary Robert Louis Stevenson, thereby revealing the unrealised complexity of the image of the Wandering Scot.[7] Both shared not only a wanderlust but also a marked sympathy for hybrid figures and an appreciate of in-between states, those regions that exist in the space between 'civilisation' and 'savagery'. Significantly the Stevenson ballad Graham most admired was 'Christmas at Sea', as it describes a state that is neither 'here' nor 'there', combining the narrator's experience with the wild seascape with the cosy domesticity of his memories of home.[8] It suggests the complex relationship both had with their national identity, both realising the necessity of maintaining a keen sense of the culture of their homeland and yet sustaining a transnational attitude, one that better enabled contact with other peoples. Perhaps more surprising, considering the virulent anti-imperialism Graham displays, most notably in the pamphlet *The Imperial Kailyard* (1896), is the way in

[5] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.291.
[6] Richard Philips, 'Writing travel and mapping sexuality', p.86.
[7] Only two years separate them as Graham was born in 1852, Stevenson 1850.
[8] Cedric Watts (ed.) *Joseph Conrad's Letters to R. B. Cunninghame Graham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p.49.

> O well I saw the pleasant room, the pleasant faces there,
> My mother's silver spectacles, my father's silver hair;
> And well I saw the firelight, like a flight of homely elves,
> Go dancing round the china-plates that stand upon the shelves.
>
> And well I knew the talk they had, the talk that was of me,
> Of the shadow on the household and the son that went to sea;
> And O the wicked fool I seemed, in every kind of way,
> To be here and hauling frozen ropes on blessèd Christmas day. (XIV, 208)

which he shares with Stevenson a certain ambivalent appreciation of the heroes of Empire.[9] Graham can bring to the attention of the British Parliament the Polynesian slave trade in 1892 (a year in which Stevenson's Samoan political activity deepened),[10] yet he could also admire a figure such as Major A.G. Spilsbury, a gun-trader determined to trade with Moroccan sheiks despite warnings from the British and Moroccan governments.[11] A letter from one H. H. Beddoes also suggests that as a man of adventure Graham had much in common with those adventurers whose political beliefs may have been very different from his own.[12]

Both Stevenson and Graham therefore serve to complicate the tendency of modern day critics to apply moral binarisms to those involved in the British Empire during the Victorian and Edwardian period. Graham himself warns against the modern complacency that allows us to believe we are morally superior to our unenlightened forebears when he remarks in 1895 in *Notes on the District of Menteith*:

> In almost every country of the world there are traditions of a former pigmy race having trod the ground where the now giant inhabitants of the land disport themselves. So flattering to the vanity of the present inhabitants and so like the habit of mankind. All those who have gone before us were pigmies. (*Notes*, 82)

The two writers also suggest the complexity of what it meant to be Scottish during that time. In his essay 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham: The Kailyard and After', Laurence Davies asks a question which, as we have seen, is frequently asked of Stevenson: to what extent can Graham

[9] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Imperial Kailyard: Being a Biting Satire on English Colonisation* (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1896).
[10] *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 27 May 1892, Fourth series, vol. 5, column 101.
[11] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.105.
[12] On 17 September 1903 H. H. Beddoes wrote to Graham from Lokoja, Northern Nigeria: 'Many thanks for your letter of August 15th which reached me last week. It is very distressing that you cannot come out as I have been much looking forward to seeing you, but if your own concession is gathering ground I am very glad. Where are you going to in the way of houses, in town or country? Our men had a splendid fight in July which we did not hear about til the middle of last month. My second in command was killed by a poisoned arrow and died in half an hour, all the white men were wounded and a lot of soldiers. It was one of the best fights we have had out here at all. I am going to take a column through the Murchi country early in the next year and we shall have our work cut out for us as their arrows are about the worst of a bad lot, one scratch and it is all over in a few minutes. If I come out of it alive I never mean to come out here again as I think I am deteriorating fast in a godforsaken hole and getting no good out of it at all. Is there any chance you could come out for the Murchi show?'
Accession 11335, folder 81. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

and his work be defined as Scottish?[13] In so doing Davies questions the critical judgement passed on 'wandering' Scottish writers, that by deciding to leave their native shores they relinquish their national identity. He suggests, 'Far more than Stevenson, who was at least as much an expatriate, Graham attempted a synthesis of Scottish and foreign experience'.[14] Although the previous chapter of this thesis has sought to challenge such a reductive opinion of Stevenson's writing, as this chapter will demonstrate there is a certain justification to the claim. As with Stevenson, Graham displays an almost obsessive interest in individuals who have attained a hybrid state, either in racial or cultural terms. It is extremely telling that in a late sketch entitled 'Bibi' published in *Mirages* (1936)[15] Graham describes the eponymous anti-hero, who was born 'of a good English family in reduced circumstances'(*M*, 91) in Tangier, who subsequently learnt Spanish 'but with the guttural accent of those born in Africa' (*M*, 91), later acquiring Arabic and English, as having 'a foot in either camp' (*M*, 93). Bibi acts as a go-between for the poor of the district and the oppressive Kaid, El Khalkhali. The sketch ends with a meeting between the two, Bibi asking for the lenient treatment of a father of a friend, that culminates in their fighting a wrestling match that ends in a draw. Bibi leaves knowing the Kaid 'will never dare to harm my man'(*M*, 115). The perhaps unconscious reference to Long John Silver reveals that, unlike Stevenson, Graham did not see the hybrid as a morally dubious character but rather one who could facilitate exchange between cultures, a position Bibi's 'creator' readily adopted. In his life and work Graham deliberately blurs the boundaries between 'here' and 'there', linking his knowledge of the Highlands and the passing of the old, feudal way of life of the Scottish countryside to the inequities of colonialisation witnessed on his travels.

One reason for Graham's neglect is his use of the sketch, an ill-defined hybridised genre that combined political comment, anecdote, anthropological study and biographical detail, fact and fiction. To suggest, as William Child does, that they should be regarded as

[13] Laurence Davies, 'R.B.Cunninghame Graham: The Kailyard and After', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, XI, No. 3, Jan, 156-177 (p.156).
[14] Ibid., p.176.
[15] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Mirages* (London: Heinemann, 1936).

belonging to the genre of travel writing ignores the literary artistry present. As Jocelyn Baines astutely notes, Graham lived his life in the 'borderland between fact and fiction'[16] although early biographers frequently made the mistake of refusing to recognise the fictional elements he frequently introduced into his apparently authentically autobiographical writing. A.F.Tschiffely's *Don Roberto* contains verbatim quotes from Graham's sketches with little attempt made to ascertain whether the events described actually occurred. At one point, when relating Graham's failed attempt to discover a Spanish goldmine described by Pliny, Tschiffely notes that in 'A Page of Pliny' Graham uses a distancing technique by having a narrator relate the story told to them by a character named McFarlane.[17] The literary artistry Graham applied to the raw material of his work is also evident in the sketch 'Animula Vagula' that appeared in *Redeemed*, published when Graham was 75.[18] The sketch is based on an incident described in a letter written while Graham was travelling up river in Columbia on 6 April 1917. The letter tells of how Graham began talking to an American orchid hunter before the 'sad experience' recounted:

> An American man was brought in while we stopped in a canoe [...] dying of fever. He could not speak and died in half an hour. No one knew his name or where he came from. He had 2,000 dollars with him and was well-dressed. They were starting to bury the poor fellow as we left. He may be an Englishman but no one knows. We are going to [...] camps to try and find out who he was. One sees men die so often in the wilderness but it is always sad.[19]

In the sketch, an orchid hunter, who carries 'something indefinable about him that spoke of failure' (*R*, 40) becomes the narrator of the tale. As he details the sombre if slightly ramshackle procedures carried out by the Colombian Commissary attempting to ascertain the nationality of the young man found, the story becomes a rumination on the transience of

[16] Jocelyn Baines, *Joseph Conrad: A Critical Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960), p.203.
[17] A. F. Tschiffely, p.278.
R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 'A Page of Pliny' in *A Hatchment* (London: Duckworth, 1913).
[18] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Redeemed* (London: Heinemann, 1927).
[19] Accession 11335, folder 25. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

human life, felt strongly in contrast to the surrounding 'primeval woods' (*R*, 52). As the orchid hunter begins to imagine the life that led up to the death of the young man, 'his voyage out; the first sight of the tropics' (*R*, 52), the sense of autobiography is conveyed; Graham, nearing the end of his life, reminisced about his early travels and reflecting on the potential dangers he survived. Graham's writing is therefore more multilayered than is usually acknowledged. Although described as a 'master of realist prose' his writing displays an interest in exploring the borderland between the fantastic associations of the exotic places described and their reality.[20] As discussed in the Stevenson chapter, during the latter end of the nineteenth century there existed a debate between the Realists who dwelt on domestic concerns and those who felt the literature of adventure associated with Empire could provide an antidote to the 'nauseous' sights put before the reading public by Zola and the like. Graham, like Stevenson, writes within the grey area between the two approaches.

It is the argument of this chapter that the reason for Graham's ability to do so stemmed from his 'insider/outsider' status within Scotland. Just as Stevenson's early travelling and interest in European culture resulted in a creative confusion surrounding his national identity, so Graham's dual Scoto-Spanish heritage enabled him to remain at one remove from Scottish culture. Able to trace his ancestors back to Robert II and yet with a Spanish grandmother, he enjoyed an upbringing that enabled him to view the world 'synoptically'[21] as Laurence Davies suggests or, according to Edward Said's term, 'contrapuntally'.[22] He can be described, to use Mary Louise Pratt's term, as a 'hyphenated white man'. In relation to two men connected to Graham, Joseph Conrad and Roger Casement, Pratt writes:

> Each was a white man whose national and civic identifications were multiple and often conflicted; each had lived out in deep personal and social histories the raw realities of Euroexpansionism, white supremacy, class domination, and

[20] Jessie Kocmanova, 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham: A Little Known Master of Realist Prose' in *Philologica Prague*, 7, 1964, 14-30.
[21] Laurence Davies, 'The Kailyard and After', p.176.
[22] Edward Said, p.49.

> heterosexism. The hyphenated white men are principal architects of the often imperialist internal critique of empire.[23]

While both his brothers entered careers that firmly upheld the British Empire Graham, by maintaining an interest in his Spanish heritage, identified himself as standing in opposition to the British imperial ethos. Spain was regarded as an empire past its prime, its failings due to its religious and racial difference from Britain's Anglo-Saxon, Protestant imperialism. As David Spurr states in *The Rhetoric of Empire:*

> While the Spanish and Portuguese had even older colonial empires than the British, the spiritual reserves of their imperial traditions lay invested mainly in the Roman Catholic church. The distinctly British version of colonial discourse promoted, by contrast, a set of secular and quasi-religious ideals borrowed from the humanism of high culture: a natural aristocracy, a muscular Christianity, the racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxons.[24]

As will be discussed later, Graham's dual identity would have important repercussions as the Scottish national movement of the inter-war years attempted to deal with strong anti-Irish, anti-Catholic feeling. His first collection of sketches, produced with his wife Gabrielle, begins with an account of George Leslie, born in Aberdeen, who converted to Catholicism after travels on the Continent in the early 1600s and undertook a missionary expedition in Scotland, Graham commenting: 'the attempt to preach Catholicism in Scotland...always seemed to me one of the most desperate of [...] theological filibustering expeditions'.[25] By neatly subverting the missionary ethos associated with Scottish Protestantism he displays his attempt to invert the strict divisions required to maintain faith in Empire between 'here' and 'there', the 'civilised' and 'uncivilised'.

The very factors that make Graham such an interesting writer, however, are those which have led to his critical neglect. There is the problem of 'placing' him, in both a critical

[23] Mary Louise Pratt, p.213.
[24] David Spurr, p.114.
[25] G. & R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Father Archangel of Scotland* (London: Black, 1896), pp.3-4.

and a national sense, due to his extensive travelling and his use of the 'sketch' as his preferred mode of writing. Aside from *Notes on the District of Menteith* he rarely wrote about Scotland at any great length and if he is mentioned at all in literary studies it is as one of the few writers to challenge the cosy sentimentality of the Kailyard.[26] Considering his best known story, 'Beattock for Moffat', describes a dying Scot travelling back to his home town from London accompanied by his gruff yet loyal fellow countryman and a pathetically weeping Cockney wife can be fittingly described as a 'Scottish sketch of nostalgia',[27] the reader may have difficulty in marking out the characteristics that should distinguish him from the Kailyard. This is a view echoed by Kevin MacCarra in a review of *The Scottish Sketches of Cunninghame Graham* edited by John Walker. MacCarra suggests that a predilection for descriptions of ruined castles and mist filled glens will do little to rehabilitate Graham's standing.[28] He goes on to say that Walker's belief in the quality of Graham's work is perhaps unduly influenced by the editor's expatriate status. Graham, as with Stevenson, is set in the mould of the self-exiled writer, an émigré who promoted a 'false' image of Scotland, one that relied more on sentimental nostalgia than fact.

Although Professor John Walker's collections have served to draw some attention to Graham's output the fact that the sketches are grouped together by place does a disservice to one of the great assets of the original publications.[29] Drawing on his travel experiences in North Africa, South America, North America and Spain, the scene shifts from sketch to sketch. One moment we're following the crowds of the working classes in the funeral cortege for Keir Hardie, the next with the Arabs in North Africa. This lack of cohesion makes it very difficult to place him within a literary context and contributes to an image of Graham as the schizophrenic Scot, unable to provide a coherent body of work. Hugh MacDiarmid attempted

[26] Alan Bold, *Modern Scottish Literature* (London: Longman, 1983), p.10.
[27] G. Reid Anderson, 'Scots Not Spanish Traits', Glasgow Herald, 18 December 1937, p.6.
[28] Kevin McCarra in J. H. Alexander (ed.), *Scottish Literary Journal: The Year's Work in Scottish Literary and Linguistic Studies*, 1986, pp.32-31 (p.34).
[29] John Walker (ed.) *The South American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham* (University of Oklahoma: Norman, 1978).
*The Scottish Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982).
*The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985).

to apply a positive reading of G. Gregory Smith's concept of the Scottish antisyzygy when discussing Graham in *Contemporary Scottish Studies*:

> In Scots the zest for handling a multitude of details rather than for seeking broad effects by suggestion is very persistent.
>
> The whole is not always lost in the parts; it is not a compilation impressive only because it is greater than any of its contributing elements, but often single in result, and above all things, lively.[30]

The suggestion is made that the fragmentary nature of Graham's writing, rather than being regarded as a negative might be seen as a positive attribute, that, as Davies suggests, 'disorientation might be a strength rather than a weakness'.[31] MacDiarmid celebrates Graham to a certain extent as he lives up to the image of the wandering Scot embodying 'all the best features of that Scottish internationalism which differentiates us so markedly from the English' and attaining a 'total lived experience of the whole of the real' while maintaining what Count Keyserling described as a 'deep rooted fixation in the spirit'.[32] Yet MacDiarmid remains caught between the sense of Graham enriching 'our best national traditions, and in particular the tradition of the Wandering Scot, the combination of scholarship and adventure', and the belief that he is yet another representative of the way in which Scotland fails to sustain a creative environment for writers. Had Graham chosen to write about Scotland more frequently *then* he would have become a figure to respect without question. Instead he becomes representative of the many Scots who feel:

> the need to escape from the intolerable anti-cultural, anti-intellectual atmosphere of their native country and go where they could find and fraternise with people of their own kind and enjoy the clash of like minds and the active co-operation and competition of men and women with similar creative abilities.[33]

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[30] G. Gregory Smith quoted in Hugh MacDiarmid, *Contemporary Scottish Studies*, Alan Riach (ed.), p.38.
[31] Laurence Davies, 'The Kailyard and After', p.177.
[32] Hugh MacDiarmid, *Cunninghame Graham: A Centenary Study* (Glasgow: Caledonian Press, 1952), p.33.
[33] Ibid., p.17.

Scottish critics, as we have seen in the introduction, have reiterated this view time and time again: once Scots leave the country they automatically exile themselves from a coherent national identity and are unable to continue to inform and enrich the land they left. This view negates the possibility of the dialectic, the fact that no nation exists in and of itself but rather defines itself in relation to other cultures. Yet an alternative means of reading Graham is suggested by Cairns Craig:

> If postmodernism really is a major shift in the underlying epistemology of western culture, it may be because the most structurally valuable attributes are now diversity and openness to cultural change rather than the stabilities of unity and coherence.[34]

Craig's *Out of History* concentrates mainly on the nature of the dialogue between Scotland and England, but the quote below should lead us to look further afield to the wider horizon of the Empire.

> all cultures, at all times, exist in a dialectic with other cultures, exist in the dialectic of spatial production. The peripheral culture is, in its fragmentation, just as much a culture as the core culture in its unity. The culture of the core is equally shaped - deformed - by the dialectic with its peripheries.[35]

Although Craig relates this point to Scotland, the same could also be said of the nature of the West's involvement with other cultures. Homi Bhabha also suggests that the view from the periphery serves to inform a nationalism that accepts difference:

> The marginal or 'minority' is not the space of a celebratory, or utopian, self-marginalization. It is a much more substantial intervention into those justifications of modernity - progress, homogeneity, cultural organicism, the deep nation, the long past - that rationalize the authoritarian, 'normalizing' tendencies

[34] Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, p116.
[35] Cairns Craig *Out of History*, p.117.

> within cultures in the name of the national interest or the ethnic prerogative.[36]

By choosing to identify closely with those nations and peoples considered to exist on the 'periphery' Graham's writing frequently serves to challenge the assumptions of the 'core'. Paradoxically, this questioning resulted in a reaffirmation of the cause of Scottish nationalism as a means of challenging the claims of British imperialism. Graham was not alone in his linking of the demands for Scottish nationalism with the struggles of other peoples facing the onslaught of British imperialism elsewhere. What marks Graham out is the way in which he casts a cool eye over Scots involved within the imperial process and the subtlety with which he blends different geographies within his writing.

## I

Graham lived most of his life on a borderland, in geographical and temporal terms. He displays a tremendous interest in those regions of the world experiencing the transition from an older, near feudal way of life to the modern world as this was the process his estate in the district of Menteith was also experiencing. Mary Louise Pratt identifies certain points of colonial contact as 'contact zones': 'This space: treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and 'travelees', not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power'.[37] Such a description matches that provided by Graham of Menteith, a region that saw exchange take place between Highlander and Lowlander in a manner similar to the relationship between settlers and Native Americans on the American frontier:

[36] Homi Bhabha, 'Nation and Narration', p. 4.
[37] Mary Louise Pratt, pp. 6-7.

> Highlander and Lowlander fought in the lonely glens or on the stony hills, or drank together in the aqua vitae houses in the times of their precarious peace. Montrose must have known the district from end to end and probably acquired his knowledge of the Highlanders in his youth, as boys on the frontiers of America learn the habits of the Indians. (*Notes*, 2-3)

As the passage above demonstrates, exchange takes place not only between different sections of Scottish society but, due to Graham's peripatetic past, a blend is achieved between 'here' and 'there', 'then' and 'now'. By drawing a comparison between the Scotland of the past and America of a few decades previously, an immediacy is granted to historical detail. In Graham's writing past and present frequently become confused:

> The mist still wreaths about the corrie of Balgals, covering the Campsies, billowing across the moss until it joins the hills above the Port, shrouding them in its depth from the vulgarity of modern life, which it blots out at times so absolutely that it seems nonexistent, until the muffled hooting of a motor car rises up through the steam as a memento mori to the still lingering past.[38]

In this passage the mist(ic) imagery MacCarra complains of is undercut by the unexpected description of 'the muffled hooting of the motor car' being described as 'a memento mori to the still lingering past'. A sound representative of modernity becomes a relic, emphasising the temporal nature of man within the landscape. As Davies states, 'the idea of history as a triumphant progress of worth and enlightenment was totally distasteful to him'.[39] Graham's confusion of time enables a connection to be established between the work of Stevenson and Andrew Lang back through to Scott and to Hogg. All display an interest in what Cairns Craig has identified as that which exists 'outside' history, rejecting or at the very least questioning a linear, progressive concept of history, one that helped fuel the development of the British Empire. The mist-filled glens of his Scottish stories may appear to promote an overly

[38] Preface added to later editions of *Notes on the District of Menteith* (Canada: Clark, 1907), p.xii. All further references are to the first edition.
[39] Laurence Davies, 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham: The Kailyard and After', p.160.

romanticised image of Scotland yet this is to limit the possible interpretation of Graham's work. References made to the mists or snows of Menteith suggest he embraced the ill-defined, preferring areas without clear markers and a time when 'nothing is stable'.[40] Although at times creating a sense of uneasiness it is also depicted as potentially fruitful. This process of decentring is, in the work of some modernist writers, perceived as a threat, most notably in the case of Conrad.[41] In Graham's work the indeterminate nature of the landscape creates a sense of a palimpsest, where past and present co-exist and inform one another, suggesting the possibility of Scotland gaining strength for the future by maintaining a keen sense of the past. This confusion results in the process identified by Iain Chambers:

> There is the emergence at the centre of the previously peripheral and marginal.[...] It is the dispersal attendant on migrancy that disrupts and interrogates the overarching themes of modernity: the nation and its literature, language and sense of identity; the metropolis; the sense of centre; the sense of psychic and cultural homogeneity. In the recognition of the other, of radical alterity, lies the acknowledgment that we are no longer the centre of the world. Our sense of centre and being is displaced. As historical, cultural and psychic subjects, we, too, are uprooted, forced to reply to our existence in terms of movement and metamorphosis.[42]

In *Notes on the District of Menteith* Graham likens the area to the division that exists between Spain and Portugal, as 'perhaps at no one point in all Scotland is the dividing line between Celt and Saxon more distinct in the nomenclature, language and configuration of the two countries', thereby identifying how his youth on the family estate would provide the ideal preparation for later travels in areas that mark the meeting points between cultures. As with Stevenson he draws attention to the heterogeneous nature of Scotland, a country in which the

[40] R.B.Cunninghame Graham, *A Hatchment* (Duckworth, 1913), p.111.
[41] Chris GoGwilt points out the difference between Conrad's 'nowhere' and that of Graham's when he writes, 'the symbolic logic of Marlow's journey into the time of 'prehistoric man' defines the geography of imperialist horror as precisely 'nowhere': 'this nowhere; 'some ghastly Nowhere,where he [Kurtz] intended great things'. Chris GoGwilt, 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham and the Geography of Politics in the 1890s' in Maria DiBattista and Lucy MacDiarmid (eds.), *High and Low Moderns: Literature and Culture 1889-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.235-254 (p.249).
[42] Iain Chambers, pp.23-24.

so-called 'savage' and 'civilised' existed in close proximity to one another in a manner that confused the moral distinctions attributed to the two states. Graham's work suggests Scotland exists in a situation similar to that outlined by Peter Childs and R. J. Williams :

> The nation is not a homogenous but a heterogeneous, changeable grouping, ambivalent in its constitution, split by othernesses within, and hybridized at its every contact with the Other (over)lapping its borders.[43]

Before the reader begins *Notes on the District of Menteith* this most regional of works is placed within an international context by the statement 'All rights reserved, except in the Republic of Paraguay', drawing together and confusing divisions between the parochial and the exotic. This interchange is maintained throughout as the book is studded with references to Graham's experiences in North and South America and his knowledge of current events in the colonies and the history of Spanish colonialisation. These are not introduced simply to display the author's peripatetic life-style but serve to inform his interpretation of the area. When he describes the Highlander clad in 'deerskin shoes'(*Notes*, 69) it might be supposed he runs the risk of fixing the Highlander 'out of time' as a noble savage. However, this confluence of Sir Walter Scott and Fenimore Cooper is set against references to the current problems affecting the outposts of Empire:

> Graham of Buchnay relates how Lord Glencairn's expedition laid siege to the Laird of Lethen's house and lost 5 men. 'We departed and burnt all Lethens land.' A military incident told in a military fashion for soldiers, quite in the manner of the French in Algeria or the English in Zululand. (*Notes*, 60)

The internecine warfare of the Borders, instead of being framed as an event 'out of time' and into fiction is located within the historical narrative of imperialism. Dialogically this serves to challenge the belief of imperialists, as based on the Enlightenment concept of progress, that

[43] Peter Childs and R. J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-colonial Theory* (London: Prentice Hall, 1997), p.140.

the Empire was a new chapter in ensuring the progress of all peoples. Instead, the Empire is presented as retrogressive, re-enacting the atrocities of several centuries past. This is suggested in the following passage:

> The Highlands though were not a savage country but, on the contrary, an old civilised country, of a peculiar kind of civilisation. Much the same state of things must have existed there two centuries ago as exist today in Tripoli and Morocco and Afghanistan. A regional polity of an antiquated sort. Not a society like that of some of the frontiers of America, which may be compared to a sort of kaleidoscope of human atoms looked at through the hindsights of a Winchester rifle. (*Notes,* 6)

Here, Graham confuses the reader's sense of the past and the present, of the 'here' and 'there'. The Highlands are presented not as an earlier stage of development but rather as a lost time of civilisation. Instead a site that might be regarded as one of 'progress', the American frontier is identified as uncivilised with a barbaric disregard for human life. By drawing a comparison with 'Tripoli and Morocco and Afghanistan' Graham positions regions his contemporary reader might regard as backward as presenting a way of life that may have far more to offer than that of Victorian Britain. He also takes delight in applying the discourse used to describe the ways of foreign regions and peoples to the familiar ways of his home:

> Ethnologists have not remarked if the inhabitants of Strathglass in Invernesshire or those districts of Aberdeenshire which have remained Catholic are as repellent as those of the inhabitants of the more essentially Protestant regions of Scotland. (*Notes*, 10)

Not only is the sectarian divide that exists within Scotland mocked but also the arbitrary nature by which ethnologist would define racial differences, linking cultural distinctions with physical attributes.

That Graham's *Notes on the District of Menteith* presents a form of nationalism that he would later promote when speaking on platforms for the National Party of Scotland is indicated when he remarks: 'Fifteenth century Scotland enjoyed Home Rule in those days and the blessing of knowing that the taxes were wasted in Edinburgh instead of London' (*Notes*, 18-19). The type of nationalism he promotes is one that respects cultural difference and would serve to maintain those aspects of a nation unique to itself. Graham fears a future that consists of:

> [...] a world of people each so like his brother that his wife can only differentiate him by the buttons on his ulster is not a cheering sight, but in the future it may be, we shall get the type again and see less of the man run like a candle out of a mould. (*Notes*, 12)

Central to his concern that regional distinctiveness should remain is the issue of language:

> Menteith like other regions of Scotland and of England...is losing fast all the remaining characteristics of the past. The old fashioned scotch is going rapidly giving place to a hideous jargon between the east end of Glasgow and that of London. (*Notes*, 11)

At first Graham's complaints may appear conservative, unwilling to admit to change, yet his sensitivity to the various dialects of Scotland relates to the broader issue of imperialism. In his writing he displays an acute awareness of the connection between language and the land, understanding that the people who have control over one have control over the other as he relates in 'A Survival' published in *The Ipané*:

> But I object to the assumption that the douce, pawky, three per-centling of the kailyard has quite eclipsed the pre-Culloden type. In remote places it still remains in spite of education,[44] kodak, bicycle, cheap knowledge and excursion trains; it lingers furtively without a reason but perhaps that of

[44] This may not be quite such an eccentric target for Graham's scorn if we bear in mind Robert Young's comment that 'It is significant that compulsory national education was introduced in Britan in the late nineteenth century, for its rationale shared much of the spirit of colonialism. The inferior races, at home and abroad, had to be civilised and accultured into the ideological dynamics of the nation'. Robert Young, p.51.

> disproving Darwinism. The men who named the hills, the streams, the stones, who hunted and fished, and fought, who came out of the mist, who followed, like dumb dogs, the foolish Stuarts, and fought against the brutal Hanoverians to their own undoing, have now and then a type lingering pathetically and ghost-like from the dim regions of a pre-commercial age.[45]

By drawing attention to the importance of naming 'the hills, the streams, the stones' the process by which knowledge of a region comes under the control of colonisers is highlighted. The loss of Gaelic and Scots inevitably informs Graham's writing on other cultures. His refusal to translate South American terms, for example, allows that culture to maintain its integrity by demonstrating that certain concepts cannot simply be translated into a Western epistemology.[46] He respects difference and 'otherness', rather than the homogenisation he fears is the ultimate result of imperialism.

The sketch 'Tobar Na Réil' ('The Well of the Star') may at first appear a slice of Celtic whimsy. However, it further displays Graham's awareness of the way in which language is used as a means of colonial control. A drink from the well allows the drinker to understand the language of the trees and animals, the location:

> a borderland of races in the past, a frontier where the Lowland hob and Highland pixie met on neutral ground, to dance upon the green, seemed to invite experiment, and call for its Columbus to explore a newer world than he saw in Guanaháni from his Caravel.[47]

In this instance, Menteith becomes the site for the contact zone, an area that invites experiment. The use of Guanahani, the Indian name for Columbus' America, is of significance as it demonstrates Graham's wish for a mutually beneficial form of contact between coloniser and colonised. It also underlines the central irony of the sketch, revealing

[45] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Ipané* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1899), p. 163.
[46] In 'La Pampa' published in *Charity* (London: Duckworth, 1912) Graham writes, without gloss, 'In the current pampa speech the words *bagual, ñandú, ombú* and *vincha, tatú* and *bacaray,* with almost all the names of plants, of shrubs and trees, recalled the influence of the Indians, the Quichuas, and Guaranís, the Pamapas and Pehuelches, Charruas, and the rest of those who once inhabited the land'. p.232.
[47] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *His People* (London: Duckworth, 1906), p.241.

the gap between the fantasy of what the colonial encounter *could* involve in sharp contrast to its reality. As Todorov makes clear Columbus' renaming of the islands he encounters marked his refusal to accept the Indians he will encounter as 'having the right to their own will'.[48] Instead, Columbus will regard difference in terms of 'superiority and inferiority'.[49]

> Columbus knows perfectly well that these islands already have names, natural ones in a sense (but in another acceptation of the term); others' words interest him very little, however, and he seeks to rename places in terms of the rank they occupy in his discovery, to give them the *right* names; moreover nomination is equivalent to taking possession.[50]

In contrast Graham conveys a naively optimistic view of a colonial encounter, as offering an opportunity for exchange and 'experiment'. His awareness of the unlikely nature of such an event is suggested by the following paragraph in which the actual nature of the colonial encounter reveals the imbalance in power that threatens to negate the opportunity for fruitful exchange. In such an encounter, as demonstrated by the example of Columbus, language becomes a means of subjugation:

> A gentle world in which no hatred reigns; where envy and all malice are unknown, where each one tells his secret to his friend unwittingly, because the speech they use is universal and without volition, and not as ours, confined to persons and articulate. The speech that lives in the clear water of the well, at the conjuncture of the star, has no vocabulary, no rules, no difficulties, but he who has it speaks as does the wind, and saying nothing in particular, is understood of all. Thus it can never lie, or lead astray, and so is valueless to us, as valueless as gold upon a desert island, with no one to enslave.[51]

'At the Ward Toll' demonstrates Graham's sensitivity to the way in which literary representation can belittle one from another culture.[52] While riding through the mist veiled landscape of Menteith, Graham happens across a Spanish traveller who, to a modern-day

[48] Tvetzan Todorov, Richard Howard (trans.), *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), p. 26.
[49] Ibid., p.42.
[50] Ibid., p.27.
[51] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *His People*, pp.241-242.
[52] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Faith* (London: Duckworth, 1909).

reader, brings to mind Manuel of *Fawlty Towers*. He 'knew a "litel Inglis" which he would "spika so that I might hear"'(*F*, 114). On learning that Graham speaks Spanish Ildefonso López thanks him in his own language for some cigarettes declaring they 'were better far than bread when the heart is empty and the feet sore, and that the scent of them was sweeter than the orange flower or than the incense in a church'(*F*, 114). The lyrical nature of his reply counteracts any superiority the reader may have felt towards a non-native speaker. Once again, Menteith allows for not only a temporal overlap and but also for a layering of different geographies. In 'At the Ward Toll', once the traveller has left, Graham rides on to discover

> All was as lonely and as northern as before but the spell had been broken by Ildefonso López in his brief apparition out of the mist and gloom of the October evening, and though I knew I rode along the road towards the Kelty bridge, and marked unconsciously the junipers that grow just by the iron gate that opens on the path towards the Carse, it seemed somehow that I was entering Vigo, by the north channel between the Cies and the high land on which a clump of pine trees overhangs the sea (*F*, 115).

Scotland is placed within an international context, the cold and misty Protestant northern climate becomes layered with the warm climes of Catholic Spain, the present and memory infect one another. Graham frequently makes a comparison that reveals the exotic in the every day, disrupting the reader's sense of place and so revealing an interconnection between the parochial and the exotic.

This sensitivity to language accounts for his sensitivity to the way in which Scotland was represented within its literature to overseas audiences. Unlike Barrie, Maclaren and Crockett he did not, due to his financial independence, have to suit his sketches to meet the commercial demands of the market. Thomas Knowles writes of Scottish authors that

> their moral dilemma [was] the extent to which they cared to explode myth in attempting a 'truer' interpretation; their commercial trap was the audience risk; a fresh approach *could*

> sell, perhaps on the basis of the controversy it excited, but *would* it, and would it get past the publisher.[53]

Graham was therefore in a position effectively to bite the hand that fed him, émigré Scots, and this he did by both relating the less than noble aspects of the Scottish commercial and imperial enterprise and reacting against a depiction of Scotland as Arcadia. This is particularly evident in his first collection of sketches *The Ipané* (1899), one of the first books to be featured in Edward Garnett's 'Overseas Library'. That Graham was very aware that the Kailyard writers were being read as representing the Scotland of the here and now is indicated in his first collection written jointly with his wife Gabrielle, *Father Archangel of Scotland*, published a year after J. H. Millar's coining of the term Kailyard. [54] In the Preface to *Father Archangel* Graham displays a suspicion of the use of dialect in literature:

> neither of them can command a dialect in which to wrap their platitudes, so that they must go forth to a hard world, unveiled in Irish, Welsh, Manx, Somerset, or even in that all-sufficient cloak of kailyard Scotch spoken by no one under heaven, which of late has plagued us.[55]

Watts and Davies write:

> Despite his chequered background, Graham seems always to have considered himself Scottish, though his international experience gave him an edgy awareness of how one country misjudges another. He feared a contempt engendered not by English malice, but by Scottish misrepresentation...England, Graham claims, has accepted a narrow definition of Scottishness, and accredited the wrong ambassadors.[56]

Importantly, Watts and Davies emphasis the lack of anglophobia in Graham's dissection of the Kailyard and the fact that the image of Scotland promoted was a two way process, Scots

[53] Thomas Knowles, *Ideology, Art and Commerce: Aspects of Literary Sociology in the late Victorian Scottish Kailyard* (Gothenberg: University of Gotherberg, 1986), p.27.
[54] J.H.Millar, 'The Literature of the Kailyard' in *New Review*, XII, January-June 1895, pp. 384-94.
[55] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Father Archangel of Scotland*, p.ix.
[56] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.156.

relating what it was felt an English or overseas audience wanted to hear. Garnett's intention behind the series was to upset the distinction between the imperial centre and the colonies by relating the experience of those working within the Empire. In his mission statement he writes: 'In the case of the English in India, ten years ago, while the literature of information was plentiful, the artist was absent; Mr Kipling arrived and discovered modern India to the English imagination'.[57] Graham voices some discomfort with the idea that writers can 'reveal' the truth about a certain area, that a Western eye is required to document a region before it can truly be said to exist. Indeed, several of the sketches in *The Ipané* serve to challenge or deconstruct the ways in which the image of an area is generated. In the preface he writes 'None of the following sketches and stories have the least connection with one another, or with each other.' Here there are echoes of his Kiplingesque assertion at the beginning of *Mogreb-el-Acksa* that it is not his intention to blend East and West as he believes the two are as oil and vinegar. However, by setting descriptions of Scottish life within an international context, inevitably he undermines the moral authority of Scottish imperialism, one connected with the 'exportation of Calvinist morality and Anglo-Scottish education'.[58] The cultural relativism destroys the sense of hierarchy, of one culture assuming superiority over another. In 'Salvagia', a Scottish town where the inhabitants have pictures of Bunyan on the wall,[59] men are 'not quite civilised, nor yet quite savages, a set of demi-brutes, exclaiming if a woman in a decent gown goes past, "There goes a bitch"'.[60]

With 'A Survival' Graham launches an attack on the concept of the Kailyard and in doing so identifies the dialectic that brought this about. In relation to images of Scotland in popular culture Cairns Craig states 'We treat them [...] as though they were expressions of a particular Scottish *psyche* when in fact they are expressions of the dialectic of Scotland's relations with England'.[61] Graham does not lay the blame at the door of the Scots or the

[57] Edward Garnett, Frontispiece, *The Ipané*.
[58] Manfred Malzahn, 'Between the Kailyard', p.61.
[59] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Ipané*, p. 191.
[60] Ibid., p.192.
[61] Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, p.110.

English, but rather on the interplay between the two, one responding and benefiting from the demands of the other. As he states at its opening, 'To be a Scotchman nowadays is to fill a position of some difficulty and trust' suggesting the interplay between the 'other' being viewed and his or her audience.[62] This is further suggested when he notes 'the fact remains that the modern Scottish writer to be popular in England must write a dialect which his reader cannot understand' and that 'If novelists north of the Tweed must live (and write), they must perforce adopt the ruling fashion'.[63] From Graham's criticism of the Kailyard the piece moves to the story of a earnest laird determined to contradict the assumption that Highlanders are lazy. The end of the story, in which a laird determined to improve his land comes across Highlanders picking ticks from one another is blatantly ironic, to the point where Graham makes clear that neither a romanticised image of the noble savage nor his own depiction should be taken as the only one.[64] Considering the context of the publication of 'A Survival', Graham reverses the process of the Western orientalising of the East, but demonstrates how such a process affects the Scots. In his objections to the writers associated with the Kailyard, what was regarded as the misrepresentation of Scots, there is a heightened awareness of the way in which the Scot became the 'Other'. Bearing this in mind the title of Graham's pamphlet *The Imperial Kailyard*, a satire highlighting the gap between the myth and the reality of the colonial frontier, becomes clear. In this scabrous essay Graham compares the dreams of imperial adventure, generated by Hakluyt, Mungo Park, Richard Burton and others, with the present day reality and comes to the conclusion that 'In stern reality the native is the hero, and the European "conquistadore"[...] nothing but a cowardly interloper presuming on superior weapons to open up a territory'.[65]

Graham is against the complacency engendered by comforting fictions. As he notes in a speech to Parliament on Home Rule for Scotland, his support stems 'from no sentimental grounds whatever, but from the extreme misery of a certain section of the Scottish

[62] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Ipané*, p. 155.
[63] Ibid., pp.156-157.
[64] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Ipané*, p.169.
[65] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Imperial Kailyard*, p.7.

population'. He goes on to say Scottish M.Ps 'are often fond of representing Scotland as a sort of Arcadia' rather than drawing attention to the '30,000 people in Glasgow who herd together in one room'.[66] Yet his writing does not ultimately suggest that we should do away entirely with the myth of the nation. *Notes on the District of Menteith* ends with the possibility that past, present and future may combine alongside the brute reality of the modern world and the supernatural, mythic element. Writing about a local hill that is held to be a gathering place for fairies, Graham comments:

> All in good time the fairies will get accustomed to changed conditions and dance as merrily upon the girders of a railway bridge as formerly upon the grass and tussocks. The motley elements which went to make the history of Menteith are gone and buried but their shadows still remain. The Earls of Menteith, from Gillechrist to the Beggar Earl, the fairies, the Reverend Mr Kirk, Rob Roy, the monks of Inchmahome, the Romans, peghts, the caledonian cattle, with the wolves, John Graham of Claverhouse and Mary Queen of Scots have left Menteith forever, but the shadow of their passage still remains; at least I see it. (*Notes*, 85)

As Davies suggests, Graham's main objection to the sentiments expressed by the Kailyard writers was that their writings were being held as representative of Scotland as a whole. What Graham attempts is a 'hybridized' discourse relating to Scotland, one that takes into account the reality of the modern nation and its romantic associations.

In his interest in placing Scotland within an international context Graham provides a link between the attempts by MacDiarmid to initiate a form of Scottish modernism and those writers associated with the movement referred to pejoratively as the 'Celtic Twilight'. MacDiarmid drew attention to this lineage when, in quoting a piece by Graham, he compares it unfavourably to the work of Annie S. Swan.[67] Although Graham's preface to a work entitled *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* might suggest an unhealthy interest in the fey, on closer examination it becomes clear that an attempt is being made to link

[66] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 335, April 9 1889, columns 96-98.
[67] Hugh MacDiarmid, *Contemporary Scottish Studies*, p. 38.

the ancient folklore of Scotland with contemporary anthropological theory.[68] The Scottish writing of Graham that does carry overtones of Celtic mysticism, rather than a sentimental, overly parochial stance reveals a link to one of the most innovative Scottish thinkers of his time, Patrick Geddes. With his periodical *The Evergreen* Geddes hoped to inspire the cause of a Scottish Renaissance, a movement that was resolutely international in scope. *The Evergreen* includes contributions from Scottish writers such as Fiona MacLeod (a.k.a. William Sharp) alongside the work of French and Irish artists and writers, most notably Douglas Hyde.[69] In his essay 'The Scots Renascence' that appeared in the Spring 1895 edition of the journal, Geddes combines a mix of reportage and musings on science in a generic blend that bears comparison with Graham's sketches.[70] Graham was not directly involved with Scottish Renaissance but mutual acquaintances and associated themes suggests he was aware of its aims. The Celticism of William Sharp influenced Yeats, while Graham was friendly with the Irish poet and corresponded with him in relation to a play written by the Spaniard Santiago Rusiñol, entitled *La Verge del Mar*, translated by Graham as *The Madonna of the Sea.* [71] Geddes was friendly with the anarchist thinker Prince Kropotkin,[72] with whom Graham once shared a political platform.[73] The sense of reclaiming an ancient national identity, one that could trace its development from ancient prehistoric times through the Jacobites and to the situation facing Scotland in the 1890s, is a strong feature of Graham's work. He touches on the theme of the 'Awakening' of the nation, , in the sketch 'Inch Cailleach' also explored by Geddes in his essay 'The Scots Renascence' Published in *Redeemed* in 1927, the year of the formation of the National Party of Scotland, Graham imagines:

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[68] Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* (Stirling: Eaneas Mackay, 1933), p. 11.
[69] Douglas Hyde, 'Christmas Alms', *The Evergreen*, Winter 1896-7, pp.91-95.
[70] Patrick Geddes, 'The Scots Renascence', *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895, pp.131-139.
[71] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.187.
[72] Paddy Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person:An introduction to the ideas and life of Patick Geddes* (London: Camelot Press 1975), p.96.
[73] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.97.

> Under their rude tombstones men whose feet, shod in their deerskin brogues, were once as light as fawns, are waiting till the shrill skirl of the Piob Mor shall call them to the great gathering of the clans.[74]

In 'The Scots Renascence' Geddes also pays tribute to J. S. Blackie, the Professor of Greek and Celtic studies with whom Graham corresponded on the question of Scottish Home Rule.[75] Geddes' work in India, the belief in adapting what is already present rather than imposing Western ideas, carries an implicit anti-imperialism that would greatly appeal to Graham: 'Jingo seems just now as much the preponderant idol as ever Gladstone was; Rhodes is its prophet; Kitchener, Chamberlain, Rosebery, Balfour and Co are his bodyguards or warriors or priests'.[76] Geddes' description of Nicosia, a town in Cyprus, as 'Stirling and Damascus strangely mixed as if in a dream'[77] demonstrates a similar ability to view the world 'synoptically', an ability he strongly encouraged travellers to develop.

Through his Scottish writing we can see that Graham was acutely aware of the means by which the imperial discourse was maintained. The form of his work, crossing generic boundaries, can therefore be seen as a complement to its political message as he attempts to undermine the authority of the imperial discourse. Although this can be used to criticise his work as it rarely attains the 'pure' state of autobiography, fiction or commentary, such a technique aids him in the criticism of imperialism, rejecting one over-arching, objective vision, instead constantly drawing attention to the subjective nature of the author's perspective. One of the more controversial frontiers Graham was able to cross was that of class. MacDiarmid's suspicion of him as being 'one of those damned *aristos* who had embraced the cause of the people' appears to have been emulated by historians of the Labour and Scottish nationalist movements in whose writings Graham is rarely found. [78] A laird who had to sell off his estates due to his father's debts, he campaigned for the non-unionised in the working-class

[74] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Redeemed*, p.109.
[75] Letter from J. S. Blackie to R. B. Cunninghame Graham. Accession 11335, folder 81. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[76] Quoted by Paddy Kitchen, p.168.
[77] Ibid., p.161.
[78] Hugh MacDiarmid, *Cunninghame Graham: A Centenary Study*, p.9.

areas of the cities and became known in Scotland as the 'miner's M.P'. Chris GoGwilt suggests one way with which to interpret Graham's disruption of the division between core and periphery by drawing attention to the way in which he allies the working classes of the industrial nations with the exploited workers of the colonies thereby disrupting what Bhabha terms the 'justifications of modernity'. Valuable though GoGwilt's discussion is, however, it elides the fact of Graham's nationalism. Graham's close identification with the folkways and history of the region of Menteith resulted in a deep sympathy with those peoples he encountered on his travels who faced the battle against modernisation. His close understanding of Scotland was therefore informed by his sharp awareness of what was happening overseas on the frontier between 'civilisation' and 'savagery'. His Scottish writing can be read as representative of what Ian Carter terms the 'literature of decline'.[79] Taking the example of Ian MacLaren, a writer dismissed within the category as Kailyard, Carter suggests his writing actually documents 'the social consequences of the final triumph of agrarian capitalism'.[80] Carter goes on to note:

> Class relations are harmonious; no conflicts of material interest ruffle the placid surface of social relations holding between laird and farmer...like the divine right of kings two centuries before it asserts the value of a social arrangement at the precise moment when that arrangement is under irresistible pressure.[81]

Carter also reveals Lewis Grassic Gibbon's ambiguous attitude towards the Kailyard. Gibbon's *Scots Quair* bears a similarity to the work of Graham. Both authors realise that while the passing of an older way of life is inevitable modernisation may well prove a poor alternative. Sketches such as 'A Retainer' and descriptions of his tenant Trootie suggest the benefits of the laird-tenant relationship but largely evade nostalgia through Graham's grim cynicism. This draws attention to the sense of something important having been lost in a modern world in which relationships are based on labour and capital:

[79] Ian Carter, 'Kailyard:The Literature of Decline in Nineteenth Century Scotland', *The Scottish Journal of Sociology*, 1, 9, 1976, 1-13.
[80] Ibid.,p.2.
[81] Ibid., p.3.

> A man like 'Trootie' in a country such as ours, where all endeavour to make money and to rise in the world by shoving others down, ought to be kept (perhaps he is) by national subscription as an example of how even a Scotchman may revert to the ways of uncivilised progenitors. (*Notes*, 75)

The irony evident in the phrase 'uncivilised progenitors' suggest the older, rural ways of life may hold something of value that is gradually being eroded. In 'A Retainer' Graham writes:

> No one, I know, is left in the whole world the least resembling him, so strange a mixture of the past and the present; on the one side a representative of the rough-footed Scots who harried and who reived, and, on the other, of the laborious race of ploughmen (loved of the sea-gulls) who have made Scotland what she is.[82]

This sense of the importance of recognising the interconnected nature of past and present represented by the people of rural communities for Scotland as a whole counteracts the view put forward by Thomas Knowles who suggests that within Kailyard:

> The choice of the rural alternative was a retreat, not only from the most typical and central social environment of the time, but also from a reality charged with images both powerful and threatening, conflicting and chaotic.[83]

Graham highlights the connections between the development of the urban environment and the collapse of the Scottish rural way of life. As the sketch 'Brought Forward' demonstrates, Graham did not shy away from representing the Scottish working classes. Describing the lives of the workers of the Clyde shipyard during the First World War he emphasises their knowledge of world affairs and politics.[84] The sketch then focuses on the relationship between two workers, Jimmy and Geordie. Geordie enlists, and when the news arrives in the shipyard of his death, Jimmy then signs up to take his place on the battlefront. 'Brought

[82] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Hope* (London: Duckworth,1910), p.185.
[83] Thomas D. Knowles, p.11.
[84] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Brought Forward* (London: Duckworth, 1916).

Forward' achieves a fine blend of the domestic and the worldly, Scotland placed within the narrative of the history taking place in the wider world.

As Tom Bacciarelli suggests Graham's writing promotes his belief that 'progress only reduces the vitality of indigenous cultures and destroys their relationship with their natural environments.'[85] Graham's position as a landholder inevitably informed his opinion of the paternalistic rule of the Kaids in Morocco and the Jesuit missions in South America in a manner similar to Stevenson's emulation of a clan chief on his Samoan estate. Graham's social position would also, paradoxically, cause him to sympathise greatly with the figure of the gaucho who, because of the changing economic situation in Argentina, would find that his 'hybrid' status, as Richard Slatta describes it, proved ill-suited for the effects of the consolidation of land by rich landowners.[86] Graham's close connection to Menteith therefore evades parochialism through his ability to link the changes taking place on his estate with those taking place further afield. Graham does not dwell on nostalgia but rather his sketches suggest the possibility of 'the exotic as counter-culture', forcing the reader to question the price of 'progress'. Graham asks the question posed by Iain Chambers regarding whether or not:

> the train of time, from which we apparently gaze back on other worlds left along the tracks of progress and civilisation, is in danger of being derailed. In the oscillations of language and identities grow the seeds of doubt. Perhaps the sense of our journey does not lie only in one direction, perhaps there is no terminus at the end of the tracks to justify our insistent movement forward?[87]

George Bernard Shaw puzzled over the fact that Graham was both a 'Scottish laird' and a 'Spanish hidalgo' thereby identifying the way in which the 'cowboy dandy' was able to blur both class and race.[88] An aristocrat cited as the first socialist M.P. of the House of

[85] Tom Bacciarelli, review of *Tales of Horsemen* in *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement*, No. 26 Spring 1987, 18-19, (p.19).
[86] Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), p.15.
[87] Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture and Identity*, p.30.
[88] George Bernard Shaw, *Three Plays for Puritans* (London: Constable, 1947), p.288.

Commons he met with suspicion. However, as with Stevenson, Graham's national identity was not so easily defined as might first be thought, a point borne out by the sympathy Graham displays to those who escape strict definition. His fascination with the Gauchos stems from their being, as he states in *Mogreb-el-Acksa*,[89] 'a sort of intermediate link between the Arab and the European and at the same time to incorporate most of the virtues of the two races' (*MA*, 52). The gaucho was also described as 'generous, crafty, liberal, irreligious, ignorant, immoral, ferocious, hospitable, brave, 'moderately' honest, fond of display, eager for novelty, a natural gambler, libertine and *dandy* [my emphasis].'[90] Graham links the outsider status of the figure of the Bohemian as being racial and social outsiders when he describes the followers of the cult leader Antonio Conselheiro as being 'united in the twin Bohemia of colour and class'.[91] The internationalism of both Graham and Stevenson results in the adoption of a dandyesque attitude that goes far beyond a question of style. Far from being an 'art for art's sake' rebellion they disrupted divisions of class and nationality. In doing so they subverted the traditional image of the traveller, challenging the sense of the all-knowing imperial adventurer. Instead they emphasised the importance of maintaining an outsider status in relation to their own national identity in order to establish effective contact with other cultures. Several photographs display Graham in the costume of other cultures.[92] A photograph taken during his expedition to Colombia to organise the gathering and transportation of horses to the Western Front shows Graham crouching alongside the gauchos rather than standing next to the men in suits. Another taken during his first trip to South America shows him in full gaucho dress. Homi Bhabha puts forward the concept of the 'mimic man', a process by which the colonised becomes 'white but not quite', suggesting how those 'natives' who take on the dress of the ruling colonisers prove an unsettling

[89] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Mogreb-el-Acksa*, 1898 (London, Duckworth, 1928).
[90] Frederick Mann Page, quoted in Richard W. Slatta, p.14.
[91] R.B.Cunninghame Graham, *A Brazilian Mystic: Being the life and Miracles of Antonio Conselheir* (London: Heinemann, 1922), p.72.
[92] See A. F. Tschiffely's *Don Roberto*.

presence as they challenge the absolutes of identity on which colonial rule depends.[93] However, for those Western intellectuals who take on an identity that combines the Western with the exotic there is within current critical discourse a certain amount of suspicion, demonstrated when Simon During states:

> Although settler becoming-another through going native never gained widespread metropolitan or colonial approval at the level of public culture, it did remain attractive to certain advanced intellectuals and, later, avant-garde artists - like Loti and Gauguin - who moved from 'self-othering' through self spectacularisation...to becoming another by making 'savages' of themselves, 'going native' to enter the timeless order of victorious western culture at a later stage of colonialism.[94]

The above quote serves to create the impression that such 'cross-dressing' was done in a way that can only be regarded as demeaning to the culture being appropriated. It suggests the impossibility of *any* Westerner offering substantial opposition to Western colonialism. It also ignores the possible political motivation that might lie behind a figure such as Cunninghame Graham who sought to undermine, rather than enter, 'the timeless order of victorious western culture at a later stage of colonialism.'

## II

It is interesting to note that a blend of autobiography, political comment and ethnographic study, a wilful disregard for divisions between literary genre, can be likened to President Dominigo Sarmiento's *Civilization and Barbarism.*[95] Sarmiento, who was

[93] Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse', *The Location of Culture*, pp.85-92.
[94] Simon During, 'Rousseau's patrimony' in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen (eds.), pp. 47-71 (p.64.)
[95] Dominigo Sarmiento, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the days of the tyrants: or Civilisation and Barbarism*, 1845 (New York: Harfner, 1960).

President at the time of Graham's early travels in South America in the late 1860s, was determined his country should reject the 'savagery' of the gauchos and adopt the civilised ways of the West. While stressing the importance of adopting Western values, drawing on the work of Sir Walter Scott, he ultimately established a form of literature that can be defined as uniquely South American.[96] Just as Stevenson attempted to bring about a blend of oral and literary tradition, so Graham, unconsciously perhaps, adopts the literary conventions of other cultures. A peripatetic life led to a suitably 'wandering' literature determined to cross generic boundaries. During his time there in the 1870s attempting to establish various ill-fated commercial enterprises, Argentina was undergoing a period of intense reconstruction. Following the rule of the dictator Rosas there had developed a movement against the way of life of the gauchos, an itinerant, racially mixed group who lived off the abundance of the Pampas and available farm work. Support for Rosas had been great amongst these groups and when he finally lost power it was felt that the only way for Argentina to become a civilised nation was to expunge these representatives of primitive life, in favour of following and adopting the ways of Europe. The major text of the movement was *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism* by Domingo F. Sarmiento. In his writing on South America, in particular on the gauchos, Graham neatly subverts the concerns of Sarmiento and his followers. Graham is attracted to the emptiness of the Pampas as it disallows the imperialist 'monarch' anything to survey and instead emphasises mankind's subordination to the power of nature. In celebrating these wide open spaces in which a person is lost, in every sense of the word, without a horse, he challenges the desire of modernisers to gain control of the land. Instead he emphasises the need for a certain humility in the face of nature:

> Something there was about the Pampas, almost unearthly, so natural it was that in a world when all is artificial, and man appears a giant, controlling everything, it seemed impossible he

[96] William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1991), pp.199-201.

> should be relegated back to his position as but one of the many animals, with but little more intelligence than theirs.[97]

A representative of the Western culture so admired by the Argentinian modernisers, Graham turns whole-heartedly to the ways of the gauchos, celebrating their lifestyle and mourning their passing. The process demanded by Sarmiento, a forward looking development moving from barbarism to civilisation, is reversed. J. L. Borges stated that :

> To be able or not to perceive the distinctive hues of that which is creole [i.e. Latin American] may be insignificant, but the fact is that of all the foreign travelers...no one perceives them better than the English: Miller, Robertson, Burton, Cunninghame Graham, Hudson.[98]

In the sense that Graham was writing against the ideological drive of the Argentina of his youth, he presents a more sympathetic portrait of the gauchos than that provided by many of their fellow countrymen.

'La Pulpería', published in *Thirteen Stories* (1900),[99] most effectively demonstrates this. Set in Argentina, the story confuses the distinction between the uncivilised observed and the civilised observer. In a manner similar to Stevenson's experience aboard the *Casco*, rather than retaining the status of narrator, making clear the boundary between the observer and the observed, Graham himself becomes the object to be studied. In a rough tavern on the pampas the young narrator deliberately provokes a gaucho who retains his support for the dictator Rosas, dead twenty years. By becoming involved in the action Graham ceases to be, as Watts and Davies note, the 'patronising European'.[100] Just as Stevenson upsets the Enlightenment belief in the inevitable progression from savagery to civilisation in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, Graham blurs the boundaries between the two states:

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[97] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Faith*, p.139-140.
[98] J. L. Borges, *La Nacion*, 3 August 1941 quoted in Roberto Gonzalez Echeverraia, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of latin American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 100.
[99] R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *Thirteen Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1900).
[100] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.196.

> The pulpero murmured 'salvage' from behind his bars, the women trembled and ran to their 'toleria', holding each other by the hands, and the guitar-players sat dumb, fearing their instruments might come to harm. I, on the contrary, either impelled by the strange savagery inherent in men's blood or by some reason I cannot explain, caught the infection, and getting on my horse, a half-wild 'redomon', spurred him and set him plunging, and at each bound struck him with the flat edge of my facon, then shouting 'Viva Rosas', galloped out furiously upon the plain. (*TS*, 174-175)

Although Graham describes himself as having caught an 'infection', implying contamination from those around him, he is also 'impelled by the strange savagery in men's blood' suggesting that this is a trait latent in all men: Mr Hyde makes his appearance on the Pampas.

Tim Barringer, writing on the illustrations that accompanied popular non-fiction journals in the mid-nineteenth century, notes that: 'This type of image, which appeared in illustrated newspapers, travel books, scientific and religious literature, was and still often is, commonly understood as reportage, a direct transcription of things seen'.[101] He goes on to 'illustrate' how, contrary to the implied objectivity of these images, the 'purportedly separate traditions of scientific journalism and caricature are revealed as being intimately and inextricably linked'.[102] The same could be said of imperialist literature, most notably that of travel writing which attempted to combine scientific fact, stereotypical representations and adventure. Cunninghame Graham's writing draws attention to the interdependency of these forms and in the process serves to undermine them. 'A Hegira', also published in *Thirteen Stories*, is an account of his travels through Texas close to the Mexican border intercut by the story of the efforts of eight Apaches, six men, a woman and a child, to avoid capture after escaping imprisonment. Graham teasingly indicates the fictionalised nature of the sketch

[101] Tim Barringer, 'Images of otherness and the visual production of difference: race and labour in illustrated texts, 1850-1865' in Shearer West (ed.), *Victorians and Race*, pp.34-53 (p37).
[102] Ibid., p.51.

when he refers to the footprints left by the Indian escapees pointed out to him by one of his companions:

> All that he spoke of was no doubt visible to him, but through my want of faith or perhaps lack of experience, I saw but a faint trace of naked footsteps in the sand. Such as they were, they seemed the shadow of a ghost, unstable and unreal, and struck me after the fashion that it strikes one when a man holds up a cane and tells you gravely, without a glimmering of the strangeness of the fact, that it came from Japan, actually grew there, and had leaves and roots, and was as little thought of as a mere ash-plant growing in a copse. (*TS*, 132)

Graham draws the reader's attention to the fictional quality of the sketch, warning the reader, as in his writing relating to Scotland, not to accept it as wholly accurate, but rather as a *representation* of the area described.

Although Graham relates the title, meaning 'pilgrimage', to the travels of the Mescaleros it can also be taken to refer ironically to the band of travellers that includes Graham. It is interesting to note that Patrick Geddes, who had visited Mexico close to Graham's own time there, promoted the idea of travel as pilgrimage as it enabled those who journeyed to other countries to broaden their education.[103] Graham's pilgrimage provides an ironic counterpoint to this concept of pilgrimage as it demonstrates both the widening of sympathy such an experience can produce but also the misunderstandings that can exist on the frontier between cultures. The land he travels through is a paradoxical mix, in which Mexicans, Texans, Native Americans and Europeans can live side by side, yet where harmless, exhausted Apaches can be hunted down like animals, the woman and child killed by a Texan who has as his 'konkewbine' 'a native gal'(*TS*, 141). That this is a place where clear moral distinctions do not hold is conveyed right from the beginning when Graham notes of one of the guards of the Mescaleros:

> He thought they had no sense; but in that showed his own folly, and acted after the manner of the half-educated man the

[103] Murdo Macdonald, 'Sir Patrick Geddes: Pilgrimage and Place' in J. M. Fladmark (ed.), *In Search of Heritage as Pilgrim or Tourist?* (Aberdeen: Don Head, 1998).

> whole world over, who knowing he can read and write thinks that the savage who cannot do so is but a fool; being unaware that, in the great book known as the world, the savages often is the better scholar of the two. (*TS*, 122)

Graham succeeds in combining accounts of the ways of the inhabitants of the various towns he travels through, details on the landscape and on Native American culture with a narrative that conveys the sense of rough justice and brutality of the American frontier, the Apaches' plight breaking through the monotony of travelling across the plains and fully conveying the cruel injustice meted out to those considered savage by those representative of encroaching 'civilisation'. Having discovered the last surviving escapees a Texan recounts:

> I hed a Winchester, and at the first fire tumbled the buck; he fell right in his tracks, and jest as I was taking off his scalp, I'm doggoned if the squaw and the young devil didn't come at us jest like grizzly bars. Wal, yes, killed'em, o' course, and any how the young 'un would have growed up; but the squaw I'm sort of sorry about. (*TS*, 141)

By combining the elements of travelogue with the narrative of the Apaches Graham creates a hybridized form which serves to ironise the literature associated with the romance of the American frontier. Graham demonstrates 'the ability of one voice to ironize and unmask the other within the same sentence'.[104] In 'A Hegira' the image of the cowboy as the hero of the Wild West is countered. However, the cowboy does not carry the full weight of condemnation as Graham, the Western traveller, is also implicated. After discovering the body of one of the Apaches 'We left the nameless warrior hanging on his tree, and took our way across the plain, well pleased both with the "valour"of his slayers and the position of affairs in general in the world at large'.(*TS*, 134) It is clear that this is meant ironically and yet this is balanced by accounts of the dangers of raids by tribes or the crosses 'Killed by the Apaches'.(*TS*, 134) that mark the wayside. There is an ambiguity in the narrator's feelings towards the Mescaleros and moral judgment is not passed. Graham both 'unmasks' the rhetoric of

[104] Robert Young, p.20.

romanticised representations of the American West, as in James Fenimore Cooper, and his own status as a representative of 'civilisation'.

'A Chihuahueno', published in *Progress*, involves a Mexican about to be hanged and highlights the tension between the account of events provided by a newspaper journalist and the first person account supplied by a murderer who cannot expect justice due to racial prejudice. Graham illustrates the impossibility of establishing one overarching narrative in a situation in which a dominant discourse, in this case the perspective of the Texan journalist, negates the alternative account provided of the Mexican. In a manner similar to Stevenson he displays a keen sensitivity to the difficulties in translating between cultures, revealing the injustices that result through the belief that one way of seeing the world was inherently superior to that of any alternative perspective.

Graham is aware of the tradition he is working within and the possibly dangerous ends to which the field-work of travellers could be put. Although the Anthropological Society was formed in 1863, feuding between ethnographers and anthropologists meant the ideas of the movement were not taken seriously either within or outside the scientific community. It was not until the development of the imperialism of the 1880s and 90s that such racist ideology asserted its authority, once it became clear the way in which it could justify imperial expansion. Arguments concerning whether mankind developed through polygenesis rather than monogenesis disguised a concern for constructing a hierarchy of race, with whites at the head of the evolutionary 'race' and blacks remaining at a primitive stage in development. Anthropological societies developed, producing journals that widened their appeal, with the result that prejudice and stereotype became respected scientific thought. That this affected the running of epires is suggested by Kuklick:

> Officials in the Colonial Office and persons who worked closely with them; the leaders of missionary societies; and the agents of wealthy philanthropists, concerned both to do good and to create a stable world order in which international trade

> could flourish - all became patrons of functionalist anthropology.[105]

Kuklick goes on to say 'A figure such as J.G.Frazer might express some reservations about anthropology's utility in guiding Britain's future development, but he argued that colonial officials could not control their subjects without anthropological training'.[106] Anthropology combined with a misreading of Darwin allowed for the belief that certain peoples were destined to die out due to the weakness of their race thus effectively absolving the imperialist nations of their responsibilities towards so-called weaker races. Taking the place of a sense of divine justice was the law of Darwin. As a result:

> the decline and, even, genocide of aboriginal peoples was depicted as a natural process working according to a scientific or Darwinian law. This perspective denied the colonizers' role as morally responsible agents, and similarly denied the role of historical agency to indigenous peoples whose resistance was seen simply as an outburst of savage instinct.[107]

In 'The Gualichú Tree' Graham describes a tree worshipped by travellers on the Pampas. He writes:

> The earliest travellers in the southern plains describe the tree as it still stood but twenty years ago; its seemed to strike them but as an evidence of the lowness of the Indians in the human scale. Whether it was so, or if a tree which rears its head alone in a vast stony plain, the only upright object in the horizon for leagues on every side, is not a fitting thing to worship, or to imagine that a powerful spirit has his habitation in it, I leave to missionaries, to 'scientists', and to all those who, knowing little, are sure that savages know nothing, and view their faith as of a different nature from their own.[108]

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[105] Henrika Kuklick, p.182.
[106] Ibid., p.185.
[107] Douglas Lorimer, 'Theoretical Racism', p.25.
[108] R.B.Cunninghame Graham, *Success* (London: Duckworth. 1902), p.14.

Here Graham criticises the development of anthropology into a respected and politically motivated science. The Gualichú tree could be used as 'evidence of the lowness of the Indians in the human scale' thereby justifying their extermination. Inverted commas around 'scientists' shows just how aware Graham was of the spurious nature of theoretical racism. By recording certain customs being slowly eroded by the work of Western imperialists Graham emulates the efforts of anthropologists of the time who felt their work was an important means of recording the dying cultures of native tribes. Where he differs from such purely anthropological accounts is the way he makes explicit how such studies allowed for the continued destruction of indigenous traditions. By making clear his anti-imperialist sentiment, Graham cannot be accused of simply carrying on the plunder of other peoples, in an intellectual as opposed to material sense. He does not include examples of native life simply in order to reinvigorate a moribund Western artistic tradition but rather does so in order to make clear the connection between the actions of the imperial nations and their effects on others.

*Mogreb el-Acksa*, published in 1897, a year after Queen Victoria's Silver Jubilee, appeared at the zenith of popular support for the British Empire and further demonstrates Graham's sensitivity to the uses and abuses of the imperial discourse. An account of his failure to reach the secret Moroccan city of Tarudant it demonstrates the way in which its author operated within the imperial discourse while succeeding in subverting its aims. The paradoxical nature of his work is demonstrated by *Mogreb-el-Acksa* beginning with the Kiplingesque assertion that he has no desire to suggest that East and West can ever meet and that they remain as distinct as oil and water (*MA*,viii). What follows demonstrates the way in which communication across cultures is a valuable goal.

That he was determined to challenge the image of the all-knowing, all-seeing Western traveller is made clearly apparent in the preface to the work in which a dandyesque, non-teleological attitude towards travel, very similar to that displayed by Stevenson, is expressed:

> I fear I have no theory of empires, destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, spread of the Christian faith, of trade extension or of hinterlands; no nostrum, by means of which I hope to turn Arabs to Christians, reconcile Allah and Hahve, remove the ancient lack of comprehension between East and West, mix oil and vinegar.[...] Generally I fear I write of things without a scrap of interest to right-thinking men: of humours, sayings, proverbs, traits of character; little of eating, drinking or night alarms of vermin, as travellers will. [...] So I apologise for lack of analysis, neglect to dive into the superstitious motives which influence but ill-attested acts, and mostly for myself for having come before the public with the history of a failure to accomplish what I tried; and having brought together a sack of cobwebs, a pack of gossamers, a bale of thistle-down, dragon-flies wings. (*MA*, ix.)

Here is Graham at his most disingenuous: the very lack of a message becomes the book's message as its author sets out to undermine the colonising aspect of the Western travel writer. Gretchen Fallon notes the unusual prelude to the adventure in which Graham draws the reader's attention to the various decaying symbols of previous Portuguese rule, setting these against the present day flags of the various consulates.[109] Before relating the failure of his own attempt to claim a hidden region for Western eyes he comments on the failure of all Empires, suggesting that those who claim imperial rule now are soon to follow the way of those who ruled centuries prior to their arrival. Once again, instead of a linear, progressive sense of history, Graham emphasises its repetitive, cyclical nature. This should not be thought a cynically bleak vision, however, as his travels demonstrate the importance of paying attention to those elements that exist outside the grand narrative of history. The importance of communication, of cross-cultural exchange is emphasised over the importance of advance and 'progress'.

Previous travellers had placed emphasis on penetrating the secret places of the East and had succeeded in doing so, as in the famous example of Richard Burton. Graham mocks the Westerner's belief in being able to effect self-othering, the ability to don the garb of those further down the racial scale in order to infiltrate an alien culture. As Said notes, 'A certain

[109] Gretchen Kidd Fallon, *British Travel books from the Middle-East 1890-1914: Conventions of the Genre and Three Unconventional Examples*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1982, pp.88-92.

freedom of intercourse was always the Westerner's privilege'[110] as 'the Orientalist can imitate the Orient without the opposite being true'.[111] Gaining access to secret places was the West's way of maintaining its panoptical control over the Orient while if the possibility of an 'oriental' becoming one of 'us' was admitted it would present a serious challenge to the belief of the innate racial superiority of the imperialist. However, Graham is unmasked, placed under the guard of a ruling local Kaid and fails to reach his goal. Instead of a resolutely linear advance, heightening the sense of the forward advance of the West, the narrative stalls. Rather than 'the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient [as] watcher, never involved, always detached'[112] Graham becomes caught up in the narratives of others, spending his time smoking kif and hearing the stories of those around him.

As identified by Spurr, one of the consequences of modernity was the shift from a communal society to one in which the individual is all-important, leading to a sense of alienation and the absence of close interaction.[113] By emphasising the importance placed on communication his travels afford him, Graham reveals an important lack within the heart of modern 'civilised' society. By maintaining the attitude of the flâneur when travelling, Graham rejects the fact-gathering of previous travellers as is evident from the passage below:

> I took especial care not to enquire the price per bag, or ton, or box, they sell at; how many qualities there are; when they are ripe; how they are picked, sorted, or anything of that fatiguing nature, knowing how much I had disliked that kind of thing in books of travel I have read. Is not all that set forth in Consular Reports, in Blue Books, and the like, and who am I, by means of information got meanly at first hand, to 'blackleg' so to speak, upon a British Consul, or to 'spring cockle in his cleene corne' with unofficial and uncalled for details which would not bring me I a cent? (*MA*, 181)

Graham slyly suggests the false nature of official accounts and that his amateur wanderings grant him a closer affinity with the landscape and people around him than those officials who

[110] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995), p.44.
[111] Ibid., p.160.
[112] Ibid., p.103.
[113] Daivd Spurr, p.74.

prefer to remain at one remove from their surroundings. Instead of relating the potential economic benefits of the country Graham prefers to relate the value of cross-cultural exchange. Early on in his travels he focuses on the fact that in Moroccan prisons the prisoners were able to talk to one another and to the guards:

> One thing they all forget when writing of a Moorish prison, that, in spite of dirt, of chains, of want of air, of herding all together in a den, they are happier than prisoners with us, for they can speak, exhale their misery in conversation; they still are men, and leave the prison men, instead of devils, hating all mankind like those who, under our inhuman silent plan, eat out their miserable 'terms' cursing the fools who in their foolish kindness hit on a device to turn men into stone. (*MA*, 27)

One of the highlights of the trip for Graham is the simple conversation between himself, his companion Lutaif and three Sherifs they encounter. Here the simple pleasure of personal contact with others is emphasised, the pleasure intensified by those involved being of different cultures. The tolerance of the three men, their willingness to accept the otherness of their two new companions, is also drawn to the reader's attention:

> We squatted down beside the three Sherifs and became friends at once, drank endless cups of tea as sweet as syrup, ate figs and walnuts, talked of Europe and of Taseruelth, and, I think, never in my life did I enjoy an afternoon so thoroughly. They asked no questions, thinking it apparently not strange we should be there dressed as Mohammedans, and I almost unable to speak Arabic, as if, for example, a Chinese dressed as an English country gentleman should stumble in upon a gang of haymakers in Rutlandshire, and sit down and drink beer. (*MA*, 208)

It is moments such as these that indicate Graham is very aware that it is 'the traveller himself who is alien, exotic, absurd'.[114] It is this self-awareness that enables Graham to unsettle the

[114] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.111.

division between 'Self' and 'Other' usually found in Western travel accounts and to challenge the discourse applied to exotic countries.

Graham's anti-imperialism throughout the book can become irritating, less because of the sentiment than its sheer repetitiveness. The Western goods he encounters are invariably described as cheap and shoddy, of no worth either aesthetically or practically.[115] Yet this heavy-handedness has to be balanced with the subtlety with which he deconstructs the image of the Western traveller:

> There I essayed to live my filibustering character down, and for a day or two went sedulously out shooting in the hottest time of day, to show I was a European traveller; collected 'specimens', as butterflies and useless stones; took photographs, all of which turned out badly; classified flowers according to a system of my own; took lessons in Arabic, and learned to ride upon the Moorish saddle. A few days of this exhilarating life made all things quiet, and the good citizens of Mogador were certain that I was a Bon-fide traveller and had no desire to attack the province of the Sus. (*MA*, 50)

Here the 'natural' racial right of White Europeans to claim rule over other nationalities is deconstructed. Instead of taking on the disguise of the native, the 'costume' of the Westerner is revealed. As with Stevenson, Graham is well aware that the role of imperialist is not racially innate but rather simply a role that can be taken on at will. Mary Louise Pratt notes 'discovery [...] consisted of a gesture of converting local knowledges (discourses) into European national and continental knowledges associated with European forms and relations of power'.[116] Western systems of knowledge were regarded as the only 'true' means of cataloguing the world, colonists collecting 'specimens' in order to translate the newly discovered landscape literally into European terms, taking away that knowledge from the conquered people. As Graham later states, 'when did a derivation hunter ever allow that the

[115] 'Swani concocts the tea, using the aforesaid weighty copper kettle, a pewter cone-shaped tea-pot, made in Germany, a tin tea-caddy, painted the colour of orange marmalade, with crude blue flowers, which kind of mercandise Birmingham sends to Morocco, to be sold at one and sixpence, to show how much superior are our wares to those of all the world'. (*MA*, 102)

[116] Mary Louise Pratt, p.202.

people of any country really understood the meaning of words in their own paltry language?'(*MA*, 123) Graham, classifying 'flowers according to a system of my own', reveals the arbitrary nature of all cataloguing systems. Photography, also a means of 'capturing' the items or people recorded, inevitably fails to do so in this case, the Moroccan peoples maintaining their own integrity, concealed from prying Western eyes.

Graham's determination to challenge the authority of the traveller as anthropologist is demonstrated in the following passage:

> As I look round the room it strikes me that there seems to be a sort of dominant type of Mohammadean formed by religion, in the same way that in the north of Ireland you can distinguish a Catholic from a Protestant, across the street. Mohammad el Hosein, though of a different race, and from thousands of miles away, presents the perfect type of an Afridi, as depicted in the columns of the illustrated papers. Ali, with his thin legs, beard brushed into a fan, and coppery skin, might sit for the picture of a Pathan; it may be that an Oriental would discern a great resemblance between a Dutchman and a Portuguese which had lain dormant to our faculties, and if this was the case my theory would be as well confirmed as many other theories which have revolutionized the scientific world. (*MA*, 82)

Here Graham ironises the reduction of individuals to 'types' then current in racialist scientific theory. At first he appears to be reinforcing stereotypical assumptions yet by sharply turning the focus away from the 'oriental' and back on the West he mocks himself for falling into the mode of the anthropologist traveller and those 'scientists' who would take his idle ponderings seriously. Graham refers to the way in which the West, applying the work of the Count de Gobineau and Linnaeus, sought to catalogue in hierarchical fashion the Rest. By suggesting the possibility of the 'Oriental' applying those theories to the West, he draws attention to their underlying power structure and mocks his own desire to reduce individuals to definitions found in 'the illustrated papers'.

The connection between Graham's thoughts on Scotland's representation within literature and his account of Morocco is made explicit when he states:

> the Berbers, little known outside their mountains, look rather Scottish in appearance, that is, Scotch as ordinary mortals see that race and not as seen through "kailyard spectacles". (*MA*, 89)

*Mogreb-el-acksa* constantly sees Graham drawing attention, in the words of Edward Said, to 'representations as *representations*, not as "natural' depictions of the Orient".[117] Graham occasionally teases the reader that his account cannot be taken as a 'true' account of Morocco. In one of the residencies he visits he notes that in his room:

> Nothing of European manufacture was there except a large-sized (navy pattern) Smith and Wesson pistol, which, hanging by a red worsted cord upon the wall, seemed to project the shadow of the cross upon the room. (*MA*, 95)

Conveniently enough the violent signifier of Western presence seems 'to project the shadow of the cross upon the room', thereby providing a neat visual conflation of the 'Bible and the gun', the twin means by which Western imperialists gain control of a region. At such moments, Graham hints at the fictional nature of any travel account, the way in which material can be shaped in order to convey the writer's ideological position. Fallon notes that the West 'knew' the East through a variety of different discourses:

> a newspaper article on good government in Egypt, an orientalist-style romance á la *Haji Baba* or a translation of *The Arabian Nights*, the account of an explorer's trek across Arabia in the Royal Geographical Society Journal, perhaps one of Murray's guidebooks to the Middle East, or, most likely, a travel narrative written by a predecessor to the country on the agenda for a visit.[118]

As with his Scottish sketches, Graham writes in the 'contact zone' between what might be considered an 'authentic' realism and a 'false' Arabian nights discourse that provided the

[117] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.21.
[118] Gretchen Kidd Fallon, pp.18-19.

dominant image of Morocco, the 'Orient'. This becomes evident during the passages describing his eventual meeting with the Kaid:

> For furniture, in addition to the matting and the rugs and leather-covered cushions, the cover cut into intricate geometric patterns, the room contained a small trunk-shaped box (perhaps entirely stuffed with gold, Allah hualem) a Belgian single-barrelled nickel plated breech-loading gun (from the Haymarket of the mysterious Londres of Windres, in the Isle of Mists), a large pair of double field-glasses; some bags of hide, two porous water bottles, a bundle of reed pens, and two or three pieces of bread, the staff of life, which fills so large a place in Moorish thoughts and life, and which an Arab of the old school breaks, but never touches with a knife. Two negro boys with dirty handkerchiefs, and boughs of walnut, stood on the right and left hand of the Kaid, and flapped away the flies.
>
> Oh, what a falling off from when, in Medina el Asahra, the great palace outside Cordoba, the Greek Ambassador beheld the Caliph's court, the wonders of the great gold basin filled with a sea of quicksilver, and the slave boys, beautiful as angels, who fanned their lord with jewelled fans made of the feathers of the wondrous bird from Hind, which on its spread-out tail carries a hundred eyes. But in Kintafi, even the Kaid himself held in his hand a branch torn from a bush, and flapped occasionally with his own august hand, when the myriads of flies became impertinent. (*MA*, 221)

Here, it is not the grubby reality of the Kaid's surroundings that is mocked but rather the expectation of the reader that other exotic regions should provide the means of imaginative escape. It is implied that the hyperbolic opulence related by the Greek ambassador indicates less a downturn of fortunes within the East than the determination of the ambassador to convey to his countrymen that it was worthwhile to maintain contact with the Caliph. Instead of 'othering' the native in order to ignore the reality of his surroundings Graham allows for a democratic association between himself and the Kaid, who is compelled, along with all his subjects, to wave away 'myriads of flies'.

John M. MacKenzie in his critique of Said's work notes that 'the Orient, or at least its discourse, has the capacity to become the tool of cultural revolution, a legitimising source of

resistance to those who challenge western conventions, introspection and complacency'.[119] *Mogreb-el-Acksa* occupies an 'in-between' state as Graham both adopts and subverts imperialist tropes. As with his histories of the South American conquest, Graham is keen to 'write' the wrongs of previous opinion makers, but his way of doing so can at times appear to be simply a case of replacing one questionable assessment with another. For example, he notes how the Berbers have always been considered superior to the Arabs and rather than questioning the very nature of sub-dividing groups into notions of worth he simply replaces the Berbers further up the racial hierarchy (*MA*, 94). It is also surprising to come to this passage towards the end of the book considering his repeated attacks on Western imperialism:

> Into the ethics of the European occupation of Morocco I do not propose to go; but if at any time that occupation should occur, it is certain that Europe would not see us in Tangier. The French have thoroughly secured the north, and as the Germans will no doubt bid for some towns upon the coast, it might perhaps be advisable to take the south, and so control the Sus, secure Morocco city, and thus keep a way open for the Saharan trade, and opening Agadir, or some port on the Wad Nun, check French advance from St. Louis, Sengal and Dakar, and their possessions in the south. I should prefer to see Morocco as it is, bad government and all, thinking but little as I do of the apotheosis of the bowler hat, and holding as an article of faith that national government is best for every land, from Ireland to the 'vexed Bermoothes' and from thence to Timbuctoo. (*MA*, 254)

For one who frequently railed against those colonial traders who fobbed off the 'natives' with shoddy goods, this appears somewhat hypocritical. Graham appears to see the process of modernisation as exacted by imperialism as inevitable, even beneficial to Morocco and yet is concerned about the prospect of a way of life being lost. Similarly, V. G. Kiernan's assertion that he extols the 'lazy' lifestyle of the gaucho is unjustified as Graham does not suggest the South American way of life as an idyllic Arcadia. Rather he questions the possibility that a

[119] John M. Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.10.

way of life is automatically changed for the better, as he does in the following passage from *Mogreb-el-Acksa*:[120]

> I found that, though the Kaid oppressed and plundered all the district, his oppression was in a measure balanced by his charity, for he fed all the poor people of the valley, and dispensed his hospitality to all and sundry who passed his gates. So that, take it for all in all, his tyranny was only different in degree from that of the manufacturer in the manufacturing towns of England, who lives upon the toil of several thousand workmen, discharges no one useful function to the State, his works being run by paid officials, and he himself doing nothing but sign his letters, whilst he uses the money wrung from his workmen to engage in foreign speculations, to swindle the inhabitants of distant countries; and for all charity subscribes to missions to convert the Jews, or to send meddling praters to insult good Catholics in Spain. (*MA*, 173-174)

## III

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt acts as an interesting counter-point to Graham. The two met in 1908 riding in Hyde Park, and they soon became friends. Strong parallels exist between the two men. Blunt, a keen anti-imperialist who travelled extensively about the Middle East, was identified by Edward Said as one of the exceptionally few Western commentators who offered an alternative to the 'traditional Western hostility to and fear of the Orient'[121] through such publications as *Atrocities of Justice Under British Rule in Egypt* (1904). He had also suffered imprisonment having been jailed in Ireland following an illegal political meeting. He was also a landowner, holding both the Crabbett estate in Sussex and one in Egypt, Sheykh Obeyd, near Cairo. There he 'followed Bedouin customs in his forty-acre oasis at Sheykh

[120] V. G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p.300.
[121] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.237.

Obeyd, where he ruled over some hundred natives, many of them Bedouins from Arabia'.[122] As Watts and Davies note,[123] many of the characteristics Graham describes in his essay commemorating Blunt could easily apply to himself:

> Although so various, still at the core a country gentleman, a mighty lover of good horses...yet not a country gentleman who brought London to the country after the modern way, but one who lived much as his forefathers lived for generations back.[124]

> His was a voice as of a Cassandra prophesying in the wilderness, in the days when he warned England that Egypt would be free, that Ireland would become a nation, and that our Indian Empire was seething with revolt.[125]

Both Blunt and Graham illustrate, in the manner of Stevenson, the possibility of being a radical reactionary. Graham can be regarded as a Westerner who did not take on the costume of another culture simply to enhance his aristocratic exoticism, but rather to offer an alternative to the homogenising processes of Western industrialisation. By becoming the 'cowboy dandy', choosing to identify himself with peoples considered outside civilised society, he sought to challenge the demands of modern day conformity. He displays a suspicion similar to that of Stevenson of the progressive claims of imperialism, a concern expressed in an empathy for those considered to be living 'outside history'.

While this sympathy can take the form of a sentimental nostalgia for the passing of an older, near Arcadian way of life, by linking those on the colonial frontier with the terrible conditions of the British working-classes he reveals the economic exploitation concealed behind the high minded rhetoric of the New Imperialism in a manner that is strikingly modern. This is evident in his letters promoting the cause of the native American tribes in

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[122] Thomas J. Assad, *Three Victorian Travellers: Burton, Blunt, Doughty* (London: Routledge and Kegan Pual, 1964), p.93.
[123] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p.264.
[124] R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *Redeemed*, p.61.
[125] Ibid., p.65.

which he relates the politicisation of the native American Ghost Dances.[126] Eschewing the mythical, wistful aspects of the dance he launches an attack on the processes that brought about the destruction of the Native American tribes and links that process to the conditions to be found in the slum areas of major cities in Britain: here and there become inextricably intertwined. By mentioning the sentimental image of the Native American encouraged by the work of Fenimore Cooper the means by which the discourse of imperialism was maintained by adventure fiction is also suggested:

> It would seem - and I speak not as a sentimentalist who takes his Indian (coloured) from the pages of Fenimore Cooper, but as one who has passed many a night staring into the darkness watching his horses when Indians were about...True, I am one of those who think that the colour of the skin makes little difference to right and wrong in the abstract, and who fail to see so much difference between an Indian sitting over a fire gnawing a piece of venison, and a tailor in the East-end of London working in a gas-lit den sixteen hours a day for a few shillings a week.[127]

In another context Graham further displays his ability to shift perspective to startling effect. When speaking in Parliament against the use of corporal punishment he states:

> When I was in Texas, horse stealing was very prevalent, and the punishment was generally prompt and complete. The neighbours used to assemble, and when they caught the thief they hung him on the nearest tree. I have myself assisted at several of these entertainments, and although many promising able-bodied white men were removed from their sphere of usefulness here below, the punishment did not prove in any way judicious in checking the crime, for it is still one of the most prevalent in the state.[128]

Graham's reputation deserves to be rehabilitated in order to disrupt a modern tendency to think of the Victorians as whole-heartedly supportive of the British Empire. As

[126] John Walker, 'Three Letters on the Indian Question', *The North American Sketches of R.B.Cunninghame Graham*, pp.25-34.
[127] Ibid., p. 29.
[128] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 335, May 8 1889, column 1449.

Douglas Lorimer states 'Recent scholarship runs the risk of...ignoring these forgotten Victorians who belong to the history not of racism but of anti-racism'.[129] Throughout his writing Graham is critical of Victorian and Edwardian racism and nowhere more so than in 'Niggers'. In 'Niggers', Graham deconstructs the belief of the Empire as part of racial and so God-given right:

> Hindus, as Brahmins, Bengalis, dwellers in Bombay, the Cingalese, Sikhs and Pathans, Rajpoots, Parsis, Afghans, Kashmiris, Beluchis, Burmese, with all the dwellers from the Caspian Sea to Timur Laut, are thus described. Arabs are 'niggers'.
>
> So are Malays, the Malagasy, Japanese, Chinese, Red Indians as Sioux, Comanches, Návajos, Apaches with Zapatecas, Esquimauz, and in the south Ranqueles, Lengwas, Pampas, Pehuelches, Tobas, and Araucanos, all these are 'niggers' though their hair is straight. Turks, Persians, Levantines, Egyptians, Moors, and generally all those of almost any race whose skins are darker than our own, and whose ideas of faith, of matrimony, banking, and therapeutics differ from those held by the dwellers of the meridian of Primrose Hill, cannot escape. Men of the Latin races, though not born free, can purchase freedom and wash, ride bicycles, and gamble on the Stock Exchange. If they are poor, then woe betide them, let them paint their faces white with all the ceruse which ever Venice furnished, to the black favour shall they come. A plague of pigments, blackness is in the heart, not in the face, and poverty, no matter how it washes, still is black.[130]

The multiple identities Graham lists undermine the homogenising aspect of theoretical racism. The listing of cultural differences alongside perceived racial differences demonstrates the author's awareness of the way in which such categories were constructed. The criteria were not pure, objective biological reasoning but evidence of one culture using its own cultural standards in order to judge others. That certain 'types' can become respectable by 'washing' also points towards the worries of contamination, of physical cleanliness being associated with moral cleanliness. [131] The mention of banks and the Stock Exchange makes clear the

[129] Douglas Lorimer, 'Race, science and culture' p.17.
[130] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Ipané*, pp.252-254.
[131] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp.207-231.

economic reasoning that lay behind racial stereotyping, the need to bring other countries into the Western market.

Yet it has to remembered that due to the all-pervasive nature of racist thought at the time for all his radicalism Graham could not help but repeat certain racist tropes. Graham's account of the life of the Brazilian mystic, Antonio Consulhero, combines historical information with a strongly ethnographic racial approach.[132] South America, as suggested by Zita Nunes, was an area studied with great interest due to its interracial mix and Graham's account reveals that contemporary fascination.[133] For example, the sketch 'Mirahuano' published in *Hope* (1910) both attacks repressive racial discrimination while reinforcing certain beliefs that serve to maintain that discrimination. Set in Colombia it tells the story of Silvio Sánchez, nicknamed Mirahuano, a black poet who wins an open competition and falls in love with the young girl who presents him with his prize. Inevitably, the story ends tragically, with Mirahuano committing suicide. The white man who recovers the body and removes the clothes 'as good as those worn by the President' (*H*, 118) to sell thinks to himself:

> It seemed to him fortuitous that a black rascal who in all his life had never done a stroke of work, but walked about just like a gentleman, making a lot of silly rhymes, at last should be of use to a white Christian such as he was himself, white, as the proverb says, on all four sides. (*H*, 118)

Graham's use of irony here, the failure of the thieving white man to recognise Mirahuano's common humanity, is set against the author's own racism carried in the description: 'and

[132] 'Although the Portuguese held the same iron faith as did the Spaniards of those times, yet in their nature there was a vein of almost northern mysticism - a belief in fairies, spirits of the night and werewolves, and a sort of sentimentalism especially to be observed in the two northern provinces, in which the celtic strain of blood was most predominant'. R. B. Cunninghame Graham *A Brazilian Mystic: Being the Life and Miracles of Antonio Conselheiro* (London: Heinemann, 1920), p.3.
'The reason may be in the clash of temperaments involved in the excessive crossing of the various types. The Portuguese, a race of Latin stock mixed in the north with celtic and in the south with arab and with Berber blood, had, at the time the conquest of Brazil was being carried out, become infected in Lisbon and the surrounding district with a strain of negro blood'. Ibid., p.24.

[133] Zita Nunes, 'Anthropology and Race in Brazilian Modernism' in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen (eds.), pp.115-125.

through his eyes, which at first sight looked hideous, with their saffron coloured whites, there shone a light, as if a spirit chained in the dungeon of his flesh was struggling to be free' (*H*, 103) and 'though he knew exactly his position, midway between that of the higher animals and man, was yet unable to resist the peculiar fascination that a white woman seems to have for those of coloured blood', an example of the sexual anxiety of whites with regard to black men (*H*, 106). Yet Graham is also sensitive enough to identify racism as a cultural construct:

> A citizen of a republic in which by theory all men were free and equal by the law, the stronger canon enacted by humanity, confirmed by prejudice, and enforced by centuries of use, had set a bar between him and his white brethren in the Lord which nothing, neither his talents, lovable nature, nor the esteem of everyone who knew him, could ever draw aside. (*H*, 103)

Graham is caught between a culturally determined discourse of racism and the biological determinism expounded by those he sought to criticise. It is unclear whether Mirahuano is brought down through the prejudice of others or through his attempting to become 'white, but not quite'. The sketch is an example of what Derrida defines as 'an ethnocentrism *thinking itself* as a counter-ethnocentrism'.[134]

Although Graham may at times fail to match the standards of modern thought concerning racism, for obvious reasons, this should not cause the reader to ignore his subtle depiction of relationships across the colonial frontier. When writing about the Scot abroad in particular, Graham seeks to confuse the boundary between the coloniser and the colonised. 'A Convert' illustrates the process Pratt describes as 'transculturation' at work, the exchanges that take place between the two seemingly opposing sides of the colonial encounter.[135] Reverend Archibald Macrae, a missionary on the West Coast of Africa 'even narrower in mind than when he left his village in the East Neuk of Fife',[136] strikes up an uneasy friendship with the chief of a local tribe, Monday Flatface. The name 'Monday' suggests

[134] Jacques Derrida quoted in David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, p.103.
[135] Mary Louise Pratt, p.6.
[136] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Progress* (London: Duckworth, 1905), p.222.

Graham's intent to subvert the master/servant relationship between Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday. The chief's wife falls ill, and while Macrae prays and applies medicine, Monday Flatface chops off two of his fingers as a sacrifice. In the morning Monday's wife has recovered. Neither practitioner of religion is allowed a monopoly on the truth, with the native magic apparently just as effective as the missionary's religion. The story ends with Macrae commenting

> Maist like she had the turn; it might have been the effect of the quinine, or of the prayers, or it may be the Lord had looked in approbation on the sacrifice. I canna say, but from that time the woman mended, and in a week was as well. Ah...Flatface, weel no, he's still a heathen, though we are friends, and whiles I think his God and mine are no so far apart as I aince thocht.[137]

As I. M. Fraser suggests, the reader is left uncertain to which character the title refers and so Graham introduces an element of relativism that would ultimately undermine the imperial enterprise.[138] This is further conveyed in the sketch 'Tanger la Blanca' which suggests the possibility of the Scot becoming the Other:

> From Gibel Musa, Tarik embarked on his adventure, one of the three or four in which whole peoples have engaged, and landing on the other outpost of the then known world, overran Europe, and had his progress not been stayed but by an accident we might today have heard the call to prayers arise in Aberdeen. (*TS*, 143-44)

In this passage Graham questions the God-given inevitability of the British Empire. If one religion were much the same as any other, what justification could there be for propounding the Protestant faith over and above all others? Graham charts those moments when the 'otherness' of the native disappears, when the coloniser becomes aware of the disturbing fact that Self and Other cannot be held distinct. His use of a Scot to illustrate this point is of

[137] Ibid., p.236.
[138] I. M. Fraser, *R. B. Cunninghame Graham: a study of his social and religious outlook* Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh 1955, p.174.

significance as he frequently suggests that Scots, due to their 'otherness' from the English, have more points of comparison with those colonised than Scots themselves would like to admit. An intriguing example of this is demonstrated in the sketch 'San Andrés' [sic] in which he depicts the life of Scottish emigrants who have succeeded in creating a Hispanic Scotland in Argentina.

Graham's interest in the hybrid nature of the Scoto-Argentines acts as an interesting contrast to James Dodds' account of early Scottish settlers in the region provided by his *Record of the Scottish Settlers in the River Plate* (1897). Throughout Dodds' work, the importance of the Scots having maintained their national identity is emphasised:

> The industry and activity which prevail all over the colony are truly praiseworthy, and it cannot but be gratifying to see at this distance from home the members of a little community like this, preserving all the sober and moral habits acquired in their own country.[139]

The ability to sustain their sense of Scottishness, rather than becoming subsumed within Argentinian society, is closely linked to sustaining their Protestant religion. On arrival the group of immigrants present the Argentinian government with a list of articles which they expect the government to abide by. One states 'that the colonists shall be permitted the free use of the Protestant religion'.[140] One of the factors Dodds thinks contributes to the success of the settlers is their race which, surprisingly, they define as Anglo-Saxon:

> It is worthy of remark, and may seem strange, that our countrymen who have emigrated to foreign lands have invariably thriven better individually than collectively; this fact may be noticed from a glance at our own British Colonies, or the United States of North America, and it is notably so in this fair land of Argentina. To that wonderful amalgamation of races called the Anglo-Saxon, with its eager desire of power, its

[139] James Dodds, *Records of the Scottish Settlers in the River Plate and their churches* (Buenos Aires: Grant and Sylvester, 1897), p.35.
[140] Ibid., p.23.

> inherent self-reliance and restless ambition to better the position in life, may be traced this apparent anomaly.[141]

James Dodds is clearly determined to place the Scots within the broader framework of the British, Anglo-Saxon Protestant Empire, eliding the sense of Scottish 'otherness'. Although they do not explicitly identify themselves as being part of a colonising mission, there is clearly, as revealed in the following passage, the belief that they could improve by example of their blend of Protestant Christianity and commerce:

> If emigration, organised as this of the Scotch colony has been, were extended in this sphere, who can say to what degree the beneficial effect of such a widened example would have on the agricultural class of this country?[142]

Such a view would have received great support from the Argentinian government who, seeking to transform Argentina into a modern state, regarded Western immigration as an essential part of the process. Iain Stewart notes that during the mid-nineteenth century:

> The promotion of immigration rapidly became the cornerstone of liberal plans to transform Argentina from the turbulent domain of political strongmen into a thoroughly civilised democracy.[143]

Manuel A Fernandez suggests one of the reasons why Scottish colonists may have been reluctant to play such an important role within Argentinian society. He comments on the fact 'that Latin America had been a part of the Spanish and Portuguese empires for more than 300 years prior to the nineteenth century' and that this led to 'the problem of cultural differences that were inimical to prospective Protestant and English speaking settlers'.[144] He goes on to say:

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[141] Ibid., p.60.
[142] Ibid., p35.
[143] Iain A. D Stewart, Ph.D. St. Andrews 1997, *Perspectives of the River Plate Around the Time of Rosas: An analysis based upon personal correspondence, private memoirs and published accounts of British settlers, as well as literary works by creole authors*, p.15.
[144] Manuel Fernandez, 'The Scots in Latin America:A Survey' in R.A.Cage (ed.) *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise 1750 - 1914* (Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 220-249 (p. 220).

> The impression left by all accounts is that the attitudes of Scotsmen towards integration lay midway between the tendency towards total assimilation shown by the Irish and the attitude of the English, more determined to remain aloof with regard to the local society. In the case of the Irish, despite the many institutions that tended to preserve their cultural identity, their social and economic status and their religion helped to draw them closer towards the local communities.[145]

Graham's sketch, in sharp contrast to the work of Dodds, draws attention to 'otherness' of the Gaels, in a matter that unsettles a clear division between 'coloniser' and 'colonised'. In the case of 'San Andrés' it is folklore and Catholicism, elements far removed from the hard-headed Protestantism promoted by Dodds, that sustain the community:

> Some of their racial traits still lingered fitfully. Born in a country where neither sweet religion nor her twin sister superstition ever had much influence upon the people [...] in San Andrés a belief in fairies and the second sight still lingered in men's minds, with many a superstition more consonant with mountains and with mists than the keen atmosphere and the material life of the wild southern plains.[146]

The story ends with a young man receiving solace for the death of his wife by being told a piece of Gaelic folklore. In 'San Andrés' it is clear that Graham views the Highlanders as distinct from the agents of colonialisation, a position occupied by Protestant Lowlanders. Despite having 'gone native', however, these hyphenated Scots maintain a distance from the indigenous:

> Climate had proved a stronger force than race, and for the most part the descendants of the Gael were almost indistinguishable in looks from all the other dwellers on the plains. They themselves did not think so, and talked about their neighbours with a fine scorn as 'natives', and were paid back in kind by them with the nickname of '*Protestantes,*' a most unjust reproach to the descendants of those who lost their all for their old kings and faith.[147]

[145] Ibid., p.222-223.
[146] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Charity* (London: Duckworth, 1912), p. 119.
[147] Ibid., p.119.

The Scots are therefore depicted as negotiating between the two separate identities of coloniser and colonised. They occupy an ambiguous position, neither one or the other, and yet the ending does not suggest this is a weakness but that the co-mingling of cultures may resolve itself in a positive manner. Their hybrid state is of obvious appeal to a man who may have experienced a sense of displaced nationality. Once again the figure that may have been considered 'Other' is revealed as being closer to the Western, or more particularly, Scottish reader than they might first have thought.

Just as Graham complicates the image of the Scots abroad by depicting Catholic Gaels as similar to the exotic 'other' he seeks to do away with the racist cant used to justify economic exploitation. Ireland rarely features in Graham's writing yet he was one of the few Liberals to openly support the Irish Members and wrote movingly of Parnell following the Irishman's death in disgrace.[148] According to L.P. Curtis Jr. Parnell was so disliked by English politicians due to his landowning status.[149] This suggests one of the contributing factors to Graham's admiration for the Irish M.P., as Parnell reflected his own position as an insider who identified himself with a cause that sought to challenge the British establishment. When he does use Ireland as subject matter Graham avoids the issue of race and instead prefers to see the problems of Ireland in terms of a struggle between capital and labour. The sketch 'The Evolution of a Village' is set in an Ireland in a pre-capitalist, pre-colonised state. Although Graham states that the inhabitants were not 'Arcadians' the impression granted is one of near idyllic self sufficiency.

> Not that they were Arcadians; far removed from that. Apt at a bargain, ready to deceive in little things. In great things, on the whole, 'dependable' enough. Had there but been enough to eat, less rent to pay, one faith instead of two, a milder whiskey, and if the rain had cleared off now and then, the place had been about as happy as it is possible to be, here in this vale of tears.

[148] *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 310, February 1 1887, column 444.
[149] L.P. Curtis Jr, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts* (Connecticut: University of California, 1968), p.24.

> Little enough they recked of what went on in Parliament, upon the stock exchange, or in the busy haunts of men.[150]

All this is about to change, however, with the arrival of a visitor from Belfast who suggests a mill be built, an idea subsequently approved of by the 'priest and minister, the local lawyer and the Scotch land agent'.[151] With the arrival of capital the idyll is shattered. 'It banished idleness, peace, beauty, and content; it made the people slaves'.[152] In making explicit the effects of industrialisation, Graham does away with the racial justifications applied to explain the troubles aroused in Ireland. In this sense Graham has some similarity with Roger Casement with whom he corresponded on the controversy surrounding the Belgian Congo.[153] Casement links the troubles in Africa to the Irish landlord problem as demonstrated in the passage below, written in 1904, the year he wrote to Graham:

> I think it has been my insight into human suffering and into the wrongs of the spoiler and the ruffian who takes 'Civilisation' for his watchword when his object is the appropriation of the land and labour of others for personal profit and which the tale of English occupation in Ireland so continually illustrates that gave me the deep interest I felt in the lot of the Congo natives.[154]

Graham avoids the racial 'othering' of the Irish who were frequently compared to other subject peoples employed for cheap labour as in the case of the Chinese or with 'the "savages" or Indians of North America'.[155] The Irish were perceived as a threat due to their working class status within Britain at a time when anthropologists expressed an interest in

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[150] R.B. Cunninghame Graham *Success* (London: Duckworth, 1902), pp.181-182.
[151] Ibid., p.182.
[152] Ibid., p.185.
[153] On 5 January 1904 Casement wrote 'The wretched congo people are *far* worse off than they were 18 years ago before the Belgians came upon them with their civilising agencies...I saw recently on the far Upper Congo communities I knew 16 years ago as strong and brave-hearted savages - killed and raided by their savage neighbours often it is true but able to fight back blow for blow and wound for wound - and at any rate to die like men, spear in hand defending their village stockade. Today these people are the cowering remnant I found cringing at the frown of some gutter-sweep of Brussels or Antwerp.[...] Forgive me this raid upon your time but I feel so deeply on this subject that I cannot restrain myself and I do so want to enlist friends on behalf of the wretched people whose wrongs are burnt into my heart'.
Accession 11335, folder 81. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[154] Quoted in Bernard Porter *Critics of Empire* (London: MacMillan, 1968), p.267.
[155] L.P. Curtis Jr, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*, p.18.

categorising the different 'types' to be found in the slums. Due to its status as a colony that, despite being in such close proximity to the civilising influence of the Mother Country, displayed a violent opposition to 'civilisation', the Irish bore the brunt of racist thought within Britain.[156] McClintock identifies the work of the Scottish ethnographer Dr John Beddoe who 'devoted thirty years of his life to measuring what he called the "Index of Nigresence".[...] in the peoples of Britain and Ireland and concluded that the index rose sharply from east to west and south to north'.[157] In *The Races of Britain*, Beddoe demonstrates the flexibility of the term 'race' in that it becomes conflated with nationality. Although presented as scientific fact, in his comparison between the Irish of Ulster and those of the South it is clear that popular prejudice informs his writing.

> For ages the valour of the Ulster men, who even then, as Giraldus tells us, differed by their manly and vigorous character from their soft and treacherous countrymen in the south, defended their country from the intruders, who at one time or other made themselves masters of almost the whole of the other provinces. [158]

In 1880s and 90s there had been links between the artists and writers associated with the Celtic movement, and the politically active organisations in Scotland and Ireland. Ruraidh Erskine of Marr was particularly enamoured by the developments in Ireland, although the response of Irish nationalists to Scots claiming kinship with them was lukewarm. [159] In the journal *The Scottish Review* articles appear lauding characteristics peculiar to the Celt. In one written by Erskine of Marr the success of Lloyd George is attributed to his Welshness.[160] However, a countermovement soon developed as the reaction of the Church of Scotland to the

[156] Michael Banton states 'As other writers took up the racial theme their targets were often national groups or classes within Europe, and in the English writing of the last three decades of the nineteenth century there is more racial abuse of the Irish than of the blacks'. Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London: Tavistock, 1977), p.59.
[157] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p.52.
[158] John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain* (London: J.W Arrowsmith, 1885), p.136.
[159] 'Parnell's opinion of the Scots is enshrined in his remark that "Scotland has ceased to be a nation"'.James Hunter, 'The Gaelic connection: the Highlands, Ireland and nationalism, 1873-1922' in *Scottish Historical Review*, LIV (1975), 178-204 (p.87).
[160] R. Erskine of Marr, 'Our Mr George' in *The Scottish Review*, Spring 1914, Vol. XXXVII, 71-81.

advantages granted to Scottish Catholic churches as a result of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 suggests. In a Committee report to the General Assembly on 29 May, 1923, they stated:

> It is a notable fact that whenever the Irish population reach a certain proportion in any community, whether village, small town, or area of a great city, the tendency of the Scottish population is to leave as quickly as they possibly can...This social phenomenon has a very sinister meaning for the future of our race. The time is rapidly approaching when, through this racial incompatibility, whole communities in Parish, village and town will be predominantly Irish.[161]

It is clear from the first chapter of Andrew Dewar Gibb's *Scottish Empire*, in which he holds Ulster as the prime example of the most successful colony within the Empire, that Gibb is anxious to distance himself from the type of nationalism represented by the Irish movement. To be a true and faithfully imperialist Scot according to Gibb was to be a Protestant Scot, a view shared by many within the Church of Scotland. Writing on the creation of Ulster in the seventeenth century Gibb claims:

> What was the attitude of these Scottish settlers toward the 'natives'? There is no doubt about the answer. It embraces the perennial judgment of the Scot upon the Irishman. Their attitude was one of contempt for those who throughout the official correspondence of the time are referred to as 'the mere Irish'. And it seems that that attitude was encouraged from above. The colonists kept together and did not intermarry with the Irish. They were of a superior race and they meant to keep that race pure. How greatly they succeed may be proved by a walk along a street in modern Belfast. The Scottish visitor to Ulster is amazed to find himself, apparently, at home. [162]

[161] Quoted in Robert Miles and Lesley Muirhead, 'Racism in Scotland:A Matter for Further Investigation?' *Scottish Government Yearbook* 1986, 108-136 (p.121).
[162] Andrew Dewar Gibb, *Scottish Empire*, pp. 9-10.

Graham insisted that Scottish nationalism should exert every effort to counteract its popular image as anti-Irish. At a speech given at a conference organised by the National Party of Scotland he states:

> Nothing is further from my mind, nothing is more repugnant to my nature, than to exclude men from any country on account of their religion. Most of my own life has been passed amongst Roman Catholics. My wife, long dead, was a Roman Catholic. I find that I have had as much liberty and as much courtesy and as much humanity shown to me in catholic countries as I have here at home in Scotland and in England.[163]

He commends the work of Irishmen drafted to work in Scotland during the First World War and goes on to say: 'I have no fear that the children of these will become good Scottish citizens, that they will join Trade Unions and they will in no way interfere with our national life'.[164] It has to be borne in mind that the Scottish self-image generated by the country's involvement with the British Empire was, as figures like David Livingstone and Mary Slessor suggest, resolutely Protestant. There was no room for Scottish Catholics in the spread of a specifically Scottish form of Christianity and commerce. In his paper read to the Ethnographical Society in 1870, T. H. Huxley identified five racial types including the Xanthochroi, the 'fair whites of Europe', and the Melanchroi, the 'dark whites of Europe', identified as 'the Irish, Celts, Bretons, Spaniards, Arabs and Brahmins'.[165] Graham continually places himself on the side of those who are held in contempt due to their racial and, by implication, moral, status and in doing so suggests the outsider/insider status of Scots within the imperial process.

The most explicit displays of Graham's sympathy towards Catholicism in opposition to Protestant imperialism are his chronicles of the Spanish Conquest. In reference to *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901),[166] GoGwilt writes

[163] Accession 3466. p.8. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[164] Ibid, p.9.
[165] Douglas Lorimer, 'Theoretical Racism' pp. 412-413
[166] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *A Vanished Arcadia*: *Being Some Account of the Jesuits in Paraguay 1607-1767*, 1901 (London: Century, 1988).

> Graham's work emphasizes the point...that the representation of documents - the reading , writing, and rewriting - is also the battlefield of political representation. Graham's historical battle was the undoing of 'Anglo-Saxon complacency in criticizing the Spanish Conquest of America.[167]

By drawing attention to the ideological motivation of previous historians and questioning the validity of the contemporary historians of the Conquest Graham indicates the subjective nature of history, how it can manipulated to support the dominant political discourse then current. Graham wrote several histories of the expansion of the Spanish empire including *A Vanished Arcadia*: *Being Some Account of the Jesuits in Paraguay 1607-1767*, a work that clearly sets out to challenge the assumed superiority of the Protestant missions determined to promote a British civilisation throughout the world. As he states in the preface to that work:

> It is an article of Anglo-Saxon faith that all the Spanish colonies were mal-administered, and all the Spanish conquerors bloodthirsty butchers, whose sole delight was blood. This, too, from the members of a race who...;[sic] but in the multitude of the greyhounds is the undoing of the hare. (*VA*, xxi)

Graham goes on to depict the Jesuits as frequently working in opposition to the violent aims of the conquistadores, showing admiration for a paternal colonialism ensuring the native races were able to survive the ravages of the Spanish colonists. This indicates the 'in-between' stance both Graham and Stevenson adopted in the sense that while both were well aware of the inequities brought about by imperialism they did support a form of 'caring' colonialism. Graham uses so-called 'primitive' cultures, be it the Highland clan system, the rule of the Moroccan Kaid over his tribespeople and the Jesuits over the Indians, to suggest the benefits of a paternal communism in opposition to the supposed benefits of modern civilisation, as in the following passage from *The Conquest of the New Granada*:[168]

[167] Christopher GoGwilt, *The Invention of the West: Joseph Conrad and the Double Mapping of Europe and Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p.218.
[168] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Conquest of the New Granada: Being the Life of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada* (London: Heinemann, 1922).

> What a description of Arcadia, and how happily they passed their lives, in spite of human sacrifices and the barbarities that seem incidental to all primitive communities! Eden perhaps was still more innocent; but not Arcadia, for in that land beloved of poets they had wars and crimes and shed the blood of animals, just as the Chibchas killed their prisoners at the feasts Peidrahita tells of in his Chronicle. Still, they were happy in their way, and every man must make a heaven for himself, for heaven made by another's hand would be a hell. (*NG*, 104)

The sympathetic treatment of the Indians by the Jesuits allows Graham to refer indirectly to the continued racism prevalent throughout the British Empire that refused to acknowledge the rights of individuals but instead looked upon the world's population as consisting of types:

> It is easy to understand that the Spanish colonists, who had looked on all the Indians as slaves, were rendered furious by the advent of the Jesuits, who treated them as men. (*VA*, 53)

Graham also suggests that the Conquistadores left behind a political system that allowed for racial difference:

> In most of the republics they left Indians who to-day are citizens, and who have risen in some instances to the highest offices of state. How many, the Indians in the United States or Canada? In what Valhalla suitable to them are the inhabitants of Tasmania, or the Australian blacks? An enlightened Anglo-Saxon Protestantism has allowed them to be exterminated, thus at one blow solving the problem of their duty to an inferior race. (*NG*, 88)

Although this point is debatable it illustrates the way he was able to comment pointedly on the discrimination all too prevalent throughout the British Empire against its subject races.

Graham admires the Jesuits for 'standing between them [the Indians] and the Spanish settlers' (*VA*, 52), acting as translators between the two opposing sides. In a similar manner, his histories, or chronicles as he preferred them to be called, act as a means of translating between 'then' and 'now'. Reference is made to modern European imperialism, challenging

the idea that all previous forms of Empire were cruel and blood-soaked in contrast to the British model which was promoted as having been won fairly and ruled efficiently. This is demonstrated by the following quotes from *The Conquest of the River Plate* (1924): [169]

> After the fashion of all conquering peoples, they believed they had a mission to civilize and to bring light into the waste places of the earth. Others have had the same belief, and with the same results.
>
> It is a creed that makes men merciless; the Spaniards suffered from it, and so have we ourselves. (*RP*, 10)

Later, the astute comment is made:

> Perhaps it might have been as well for the Spaniards and the other European nations to have stayed at home and civilized themselves, a proceeding that they have delayed down to the present day[...].(*RP*, 177)

Graham challenges the sense of the march of history as progress; instead empires are doomed to repeat the mistake of empires gone by. By revealing the parallels between then and now the assumed longevity of the British Empire is brought into question. The Spaniards were also convinced that their rule over other peoples would last for centuries. Graham suggests that cultural or religious reasons were not to blame for the collapse of their Empire, factors that could create a comforting distance between 'their' version and 'ours', but rather it was inevitable due to the cyclical nature of history. Graham therefore maintains a concept of history shared with Stevenson and Andrew Lang, that of Empires passing to be replaced by others. Rather than the British Empire marking a new stage of development, it simply marks another turn of the wheel:

> Of course, Quesada was the invader of a peaceful country, whose inhabitants not only had no quarrel with him or with his men, but never in their lives had heard the name, either of the Spaniards or of Spain. However, we ourselves who have

[169] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Conquest of the River Plate* (London: Heinemann, 1924).

> behaved just as Quesada did, have not the smallest right to criticise him. He had his horses and his crossbows, his swords of tempered steel and iron-shod lances, and we our arms of precision and our artillery. In either case, neither in Africa, in Asia, or America, were the rights of the natives ever considered for a moment either by England or by Spain. (*NG*, 111)

As in his travel writing, he frequently plays upon the confluence of hearsay, myth and fact that a supposedly objective history can take, that history can be as subjective as the person writing it. This is made clear in the preface to *A Vanished Arcadia* in which he states:

> I am painfully aware that neither my calling nor election in this matter are the least sure. Certain it is that in youth, when alone the historian or the horseman may be formed, I did little to fit myself for writing history. Wandering about the countries of which now I treat, I had almost as scant object in my travels as a Gaucho of the outside 'camps'. I never took a note on any subject under heaven, nor kept a diary, by means of which, my youth departed and the countries I once knew so well transmogrified, I could, sitting beside the fire, read and enjoy the sadness of revisiting, in my mind's eye, scenes that I now remember indistinctly as a dream. (*VA*, xvii)

This is the historian as unreliable narrator, but for all its flippancy it serves the same purpose as the preface to *Mogreb-el-Acksa*. Both display Graham rejecting the discourse of travel and history writing as a means of promoting one fixed truth about a region or a time in history:

> The numbers given of Indians by the Spanish conquerors are almost always grossly overstated, from the wish they not unnaturally had to magnify the importance of their conquests and to enhance their exploits in the eyes of those for whom they wrote. (*VA*, 29)

By drawing attention to his own subjectivity he reveals the subjectivity of all travel writers and historians who may present 'facts' in order to promote their own ideological stance. Instead history and past travels become 'dream'-like, an insubstantial version of truth rather than *the* truth; instead of 'History', 'histories'. Graham's sympathy for the perils faced by the

colonists is balanced by an acute sensitivity to the injustices meted out to the indigenous tribes:

> It is difficult to say who was most worthy of our admiration, the dignified old king seated upon his throne, quite undismayed at the incursion of the strangely armed, ferocious-looking men, mounted upon their terrible and unknown animals, or the two bold adventurers who faced such terrible odds. (*NG*, 132)

Although Graham is determined to provide an alternative reading of the Spanish conquest by conveying the uncertainty inherent in recreating a time several centuries past, he makes clear that his is not the *definitive* account. Unlike the Protestant British Empire and the Spaniards before them, Graham displays a relativist approach to other religions and other cultures:

> The Chibcha heaven was as well populated as Olympus, and their deities little inferior to any deities of whom history has preserved the attributes and names in general dignity. Their theory of the creation of the world may well take its stand beside most theories of nations more civilized than they were, and, without doubt, was just as satisfying to them as the creation in the Book of Genesis has been, and is, to most unreasonable men. (*NG*, 93)

Here the major driving force of both the Spanish and the British imperial mission, religion, is attacked. Todorov notes that in contrast to the 'cyclical, repetitive' concept of time and history shared by the Aztecs, 'appears the one directional time of apotheosis and fulfillment, as the Christians then experience it'.[170] In a manner that runs in striking parallel to the view of the imperialist supporters of Graham's day, the Spaniards believed that 'the conquest also confirms the Christian conception of time, which is not an incessant return but an infinite progression toward the final victory of the Christian spirit [...]'.[171] Coupled with the belief in the one true God instead of gods this means that the colonists of then, as of now, felt their material progress was sanctified by the highest authority, one that would not brook

[170] Tvetzan Todorov, p. 86.
[171] Ibid., p.87.

opposition.[172] By siding with a concept of time more in common with that of the Aztecs than the Spaniards while making the point that their belief system might well have been of equal worth with that of their invaders, Graham questions the legitimacy of the justifying claims of colonists both past and present.

Despite his claim that his memories of his travels in the footsteps of the conquistadores are dim, one of the great strengths of the chronicles are those passages describing the natural landscape in which Graham draws from personal experience:

> At early morning, when the white mist enshrouds the Magdalena, blotting the forests out, except the tops of a tall palm-tree here and there, leaving the stream confined between two banks of vapour, that makes it seem like an immense but turbulent canal, Quesada, wrapped in is cloak, shivering in the dank air that penetrates right to the marrow of the bones, cannot but have looked anxiously about for hostile Indians to attack. (*NG*, 215-216)

The vivid accuracy of these descriptions serves to collapse the distance between then and now and grants an immediacy to the trials of the newly arrived Spaniards, who faced potentially hostile people in a landscape the likes of which they had never seen before. In *The Conquest of the New Granada* Graham contrasts the 'hell of noise and fire' the modern soldier experiences with the privations of the Spanish soldiers who 'when they crossed the seas, crossed them forever':

> Certainly they did not face a thousand deaths hurled at them by mechanical appliances; but they faced poisoned arrows, and the privations of an earlier world, with certain torture if they were taken prisoners by their enemies. (*NG*, 73)

However, the implicit suggestion made is that the Spaniards largely failed in their attempts to conquer the land, as it remains much the same as it was several centuries past. Again Graham suggests the futility of the imperial process. Graham is therefore caught between admiration

[172] As Todorov states of Christianity: 'This religion seeks to be universal and is thereby intolerant'. Ibid., p.105.

for the conquistadores, determined that their efforts should be admired in a manner free from religious prejudice, and his knowledge that their efforts resulted in terrible injustice toward the native population. This is demonstrated in the following passage referring to one of clauses in a treaty established by Don Pedro de Mendoza which states that all Indians should be treated fairly:

> Whatever was the practice of the conquistadores, and there were good and bad amongst them, as there are in every class of men, the recurrence of this clause in every agreement entered into between the various conquerors and the Spanish court effectually disposes of the calumny that the Spaniards as a race were impelled to their conquest but by a base desire for gold. (*RP*, 45)

The terrible massacres that followed in the wake of the Spanish arrival mean it becomes increasingly difficult to share the sympathy suggested above. In his determination to defend the Spaniards Graham can repeat certain tropes surprising for one usually so sensitive to the imperial discourse. In *The Conquest of the River Plate* he writes:

> It was indeed an epoch making voyage, and one never to be repeated, for, for the first time, the great river was giving up secrets maintained inviolable from the creation of the world. (*RP*, 19)

This suggests South America did not fully exist until the arrival of Western explorers, despite the existence of several million indigenous tribespeople. As Spurr has suggested, Western explorers felt that the countries they had visited were without history:

> This way of defining the African, as without history and without progress, makes way for the moral necessity of cultural transformation. The colonizing powers will create a history where there was none. [173]

Later Graham writes:

[173] Ibid., p.99.

> On the great river's banks Gaboto was exploring there were no cities, and man was still unchanged, since he had been created or had developed from some other anthropoid. No one knew what a bend in the river concealed by islands and by vegetation might disclose. All was unfamiliar, the trees and plants, all the configuration of the constellations, the reptiles, fish, the many-coloured birds, the shrieking parrots and the macaws floating like little aeroplanes around the palm trees; stranger still the Indians. (*RP*, 19-20)

South America is portrayed as a prehistoric Eden, waiting to be validated by the discovery made by representatives of Western history. In an echo of the accounts provided by Columbus, the Indians are described as simply part of the fauna, listed alongside parrots and macaws. Yet such criticism has to be balanced against Graham's understanding of the exploitation that existed alongside the high motives of the Spaniards. The contact zone quickly becomes the site of economic exploitation:

> They [the Gurani Indians] trooped down to the river bank all crowned with feathers and unarmed, and with thin plates of silver hanging from their necks. Naturally these plates of silver were what most attracted Gaboto and his men, as silver (in default of gold) has always been the pole star of all conquerors, French, Spanish, English, or of whatever nationality. These plates of silver soon passed into Gaboto's hands, in exchange for the currency the conquistadores used in all their dealings with the Indians, hawk-bells, looking-glasses, and red cloth. (*RP*, 22)

Drawing attention to the unarmed status of the Indians and the fact that their silver decoration holds a greater fascination for the Spaniards than the Indians themselves demonstrates Graham's clear-eyed assessment of what lay beneath the grand claims made for the Conquest. The chronicles serve to reveal their author's complex attitude towards those on the front line of colonialism, a combination of outraged disgust and humane sympathy.

The insider/outsider status such an approach suggests relates to Graham's interest in hybridised states. As Austin Clarke, writing in the *London Mercury* in 1936 states in relation to *Mirages*, 'though the stories of Latin America and North Africa may appear to have little to

do with contemporary uncertainties, it is significant that all these sketches depict the mingling of peoples of all races and the breaking down of ethnic barriers'.[174] Rather than suggesting the impossibility of non-Westerners adopting the ways of the West, these figures question the supposed benefits of 'civilisation' and reveal the intolerance towards the threat of hybridity that exacerbates their outcast state. 'Sidi Bu Zibbala' tells the story of Maron Mohanna who, as a Christian Arab, Graham establishes as a cultural hybrid:

> Religious persecution with isolation from the world, complete as if the Lebanon were an atoll island in the Paumotus group; a thousand years of slavery, and centuries innumerable of traditions of a proud past, the whole well filtered through the curriculum of an American missionary college, had made Maron Mohanna the strange compound that he was. (*TS*, 147)

Maron, who fails to feel at rest in any of the many countries he visits provides, an anti-romantic image of the traveller, his travels fuelled by the nostalgic associations he has for the different countries and the swift disenchantment that follows when they fail to live up to his expectations. At the end of his travels, disillusioned by his experiences the world over, Maron has changed his name to that of the title: 'Father of the Dunghill'. Sidi tells the English consul in Morocco:

> Your poet Shakespeare say that all the world a stage, but he was an Englishman. I, Syrian, I say all the world dunghill. I try him, Syria, England, the Desert, and New York; I find him dung. (*TS*, 161)

The sketch itself, however, fascinating in its rich blend of cross-cultural reference, works against the pessimistically bleak view Sidi propounds. Graham questions the viability of Sidi's belief in a cultural or national 'centre' in which an individual can feel completely rooted. Hence the reaction of the consul who finds Sidi's words 'an outrage to progress and

[174] Austin Clarke, 'Mr Cunninghame Graham', *London Mercury,* XXXIII, April 1936, 648-9, quoted in John Walker, 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham: An annotated bibliography of writings about him' in *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920,* 22, 1979, 78-154 (p.87).

his official status'(*TS*, 161) as in the absence of a hierarchical relationship between nations his position becomes untenable. Sidi is representative of many individuals, Graham included, who carry with them a blend of allegiances following the break-down in barriers against travel in part brought about by imperialism. The troubled reaction of the consul, addressed by a figure 'Its hair long and matted and its beard ropy and grizzled' who 'addressed him in his native tongue' (*TS*, 160-161), comes about when being challenged on the notion of a fixed identity, be that in racial, national or religious terms. Graham suggests the opportunities a migrant identity might offer described by Chambers:

> The awareness of the complex and constructed nature of our identities offers a key that opens us up to other possibilities: to recognise in our story other stories, to discover in the apparent completeness of the modern individual the incoherence, the estrangement, the gap opened up by the stranger, that subverts it and forces us to acknowledge the question: the stranger in ourselves.[175]

Sidi's pessimism came about through his inability to accept the fact that everywhere and nowhere is a defining centre. He could not accept the mutable nature of his cultural identity, the way it enabled him to identify with a variety of different peoples, rather choosing to believe there was somewhere he could describe as home. However, his experience enables the reader to recognise the fact that 'if we are not invariably bilingual, we are inevitably bi- or tri-cultural' and that we should glorify 'mixture to the detriment of purity [...] and the role of the intermediary'.[176]

Another story in the same collection, *Thirteen Stories*, 'Higginson's Dream', suggests the potential damage that can be wrought by failing to recognise the various allegiances that exist within us. The story follows the eponymous Higginson who settles in Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia, an island in the South Pacific to the east of Samoa. The sketch offers an account of the colonisation of the Pacific in a politically charged tone

[175] Iain Chambers, p.25.
[176] Tvetzan Todorov, p.101.

largely absent from Stevenson's fiction. However, both display an interest in the hybridised means of communication that come about on the colonial frontier. Although Higginson is responsible for the 'improvement' of the island Graham paints a largely sympathetic portrait of a man of mixed allegiances:

> Strange that a kindly man, a cosmopolitan, half French, half English, brought up in Australia, capable, active, pushing and not devoid of that interior grace a speculative intellect, which usually militates against a man in the battle of his life, should think that roads, mines, harbours, havens, ships, bills of lading, telegraphs, tramways, a European flag, even the French flag itself, could compensate his islanders for loss of liberty. Stranger in his case than in the case of those who go grown up with all the prejudices, limitations, circumscriptions and formalities of civilization become chronic in them, and see in savage countries and wild peoples but dumping ground for the extension of the Roubaix or the Sheffield trade; for he had passed his youth amongst the islands, loved their women, gone spearing fish with the young men, had planted taro with them, drunk kava, learned their language, and become as expert as themselves in all their futile arts and exercises; knew their customs and was as one of them, living their life and thinking it the best. (*TS*, 179-180)

Bored with the civilised ways of Noumea, Higginson decides to pay a return visit to the bay of his idyllic youth where he would play with his friend Tean, the son of the chief. He discovers his former idyll shattered, the tribe destroyed through its contact with the processes of modernisation. The answer to his inquiry after the old chief of the village 'Chief, he dead'(*TS*, 185), is echoed in *Heart of Darkness*, which Conrad began a month after the publication of Graham's story, 'Mistah Kurtz, he dead'.[177] An important difference between the two works is that Graham is concerned with granting a voice to the 'brutes', the primitive peoples Kurtz demands be exterminated. Chinua Achebe states of *Heart of Darkness* that Conrad 'neglects to hint, clearly and adequately, at an alternative frame of reference by which we may judge the actions and opinions of his characters'.[178] In the conversation that ends 'Higginson's

[177] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 1902, (London: Penguin, 1995), p.112.
[178] Chinua Achebe, 'An image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*' in *Hopes and Impediments: selected essays 1965-1987* (London: Heinemann, 1988), pp.1-13 (p.7).

Dream' a role reversal takes place, facilitated by pidgin English, as his old friend Tean educates Higginson in the folly of his imperialist ways from his deathbed. Graham grants a voice to those Marlowe refuses to hear:

> Thus Higginson from his altitude argued with the semi-savage, thinking, as men will think, that even death can be kept off with words....Tean, who by this time had changed position with his friend, and become out of his knowledge a philosopher, shook his head sadly and replied, "You no savey nothing, John; when black man know he die there is no hope". (*TS*, 186-187)

Ashcroft, Griffins and Tiffin state that: 'Pidgin was inevitably used in the context of master-servant relationships during the period of European colonization.'[179] In the case of 'Higginson's Dream' the hybridized language of economic colonial oppression becomes the medium by which the servant can educate his master on the terrible consequences of his actions. Graham's sketch reveals the way in which, as Childs and Williams suggest, 'Hybridity shifts power, questions discursive authority, and suggests, contrary to the implication of Said's concept of Orientalism, that colonial discourse is never wholly in the control of the colonizer'.[180]

Watts and Davies wrote in their 1979 biography of Graham that there 'is no dog-show for mongrels, and little critical acclaim now for writing as heterogeneous'.[181] Commenting on *The Satanic Verses* Salman Rushdie celebrates the fact of

> hybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics. [...] *Mélange*, hotchpotch, a bit of this and that is how *newness enters the world.* It is the great possibility that mass migration gives the world, and I have tried to embrace it. *The Satanic Verses* is for change-by-fusion, change-by-conjoining. It is a love song to our mongrel selves.[182]

[179] Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin (eds.), *The Empire Writes Back,* p.76.
[180] Peter Childs and R. J. Patrick Williams (eds.), p.136.
[181] Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, p. 154.
[182] Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* (London: Granta, 1992), p.394.

Rushdie also states that 'To be a migrant is, perhaps, to be the only species of human being free of the shackles of nationalism (to say nothing of its ugly sister patriotism). [...] To see things plainly, you have to cross a frontier'.[183] The example of Cunninghame Graham suggests the possibility of a form of nationalism that does not carry the negative connotations suggested by Rushdie, but rather one that allows for the reality of a pluralist Scotland. Robert Crawford writes of J.G.Frazer:

> Frazer is crucial to the connections between the Scottish tradition and international modernism. His cultural assemblages, his juxtapostions of civilised and savage and his curious combination of conscious literary style and factual encyclopedic scope all look towards the work of the major modernist writers, including Eliot, Pound, Joyce, Lawrence and Conrad.[184]

If 'Cunninghame Graham' replaced 'Frazer' in the above passage no change would have to be made to the description. Graham's identity as both insider, as aristocrat and politician, and outsider, the wandering Bohemian, places him as a precursor to the identity of such 'provincials' or 'barbarians' of the Modernist movement as Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis and D. H. Lawrence. As identified by Robert Crawford these figures, due to their outsider status, be it in terms of nationality or class, sought to shake up a moribund Western culture from within.[185] However, although mentioned in Wyndham Lewis' 'Blast'[186] and Pound's Cantos,[187] Graham warrants only a cursory mention in *Devolving English Literature* and only in relation to his friendship with Joseph Conrad. [188] Graham displays evident interest in cultures other than that of civilised Western society alongside the cross-over points between the 'civilised' and the 'savage'; his fascination with the American

[183] Ibid., pp.124-125.
[184] Robert Crawford, 'Frazer and Scottish Romanticism:Scott, Stevenson and *The Golden Bough*' in Robert Fraser (ed), *Sir James Frazer and the Literary Imagination*, pp. 18-37 (p.35).
[185] Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, pp.216-271.
[186] Laurence Davies and Cedric Watts, p.256.
[187] *The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (London: Faber & Faber, 1964), p.461., p.557.
[188] Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, p. 240.

frontier was shared by both Lewis and Eliot.[189] By combining the provincial with the international, in a manner similar to Robert Louis Stevenson, Graham tackles the involvement of the Scots in the imperial enterprise directly and in the process attempts to construct the possibility of the country attaining an informed and tolerant nationalism. Furthermore, he and Stevenson sought to politicise their travel writing by referring directly to the ravages brought about on different cultures by imperialism. Graham's writing, its instability, its shifts in tone and scene, draws together the peripheral and the core, marking the points where one infiltrates and informs the other. In doing so he places and thus questions Scotland's relationship to the wider Empire but also celebrates the hybridity such cultural exchange creates. Both Stevenson and Graham share a largely positive interest in hybrid identities, heightened by their sense of Scottishness but also strongly affected by their slight foreignness within Scottish society. The next subject of this thesis, John Buchan, shares many similar concerns but, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, his political outlook provides a very different interpretation of the themes explored by Stevenson and Graham.

[189] Helen Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive: politics, gender and the representation of Native American literary tradtions* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), p.129.

# Chapter Three: John Buchan—The Uncanny Imperialist

> We call ourselves insular, but the truth is that we are the only race on earth that can produce men capable of getting inside the skin of remote peoples. Perhaps the Scots are better than the English, but we're all a thousand per cent. better than anybody else.[1]

> In every great Imperial enterprise Scotsmen have shared, and in many cases they have been leaders. The events of 1707, to my mind, did far more to unite Scotland and England. They united Scotland and the world at large.[2]

The first quotation above serves to suggest that within Britain's imperial rule the Scots were the most adept at negotiating the boundaries between coloniser and colonised. The two chapters preceding should suggest that in the case of Robert Louis Stevenson and R. B. Cunninghame Graham their Scottishness enabled them to view with sympathy and understanding the frequently stereotyped colonial Other, a perspective conditioned by an ambivalent attitude towards questions of Scottish national identity. The irony of the quotation being used to suggest the sympathetic imagination of the Scots is that it was written by one regarded as the literary heir apparent of Stevenson but who rarely attempted to get 'inside the skin of remote peoples' in the manner of his predecessor. Hugely popular in his day and with many of his books still in print John Buchan has suffered much critical neglect within Scottish literary studies due to his support for the British Empire.[3] While Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham provide, in these post-colonial times, the respectable image of the Scot challenging the inequities of Empire Buchan, whose support for the British Empire culminated in his position as Governor-General of Canada, is regarded as an unpleasant anomaly. During the interwar years, when his most popular 'shockers' were written, writers associated with the Scottish Renaissance were developing a Scottish identity that attempted to

[1] John Buchan, *Greenmantle*, Kate Macdonald (ed.), 1916 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.24.
[2] John Buchan, *House of Commons Debates*, Vol. 209, 19 July 1927, column 312.
[3] David Daniell's *The Interpreter's House* (London: Nelson, 1975) is the only full-length literary study of Buchan's work with Andrew Lownie's recent *John Buchan: The Presbyterian Cavalier* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995) complementing rather than advancing Janet Adam Smith's biography *John Buchan* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1965).

distance Scotland from the actions of imperialist England. In contrast, Alastair MacCleery suggests that throughout Buchan's fiction Scots are presented as 'homogenised' by the Empire, losing their Scottishness in order to become subsumed within the Great British or rather English Empire.[4] Buchan is held in contempt for being a 'mimic man', emulating the ways of the English upper classes at Elsfield, his Oxfordshire estate. This approach ignores the important stage of development within imperialist popular fiction that his work represents, one that looks inwards rather than promoting an outward, colonizing ethos and so inevitably disrupts the division between 'Here' and 'There'. It also ignores the degree of continuity between the concepts and ideas contained within his writing and with such figures as Neil Gunn and Lewis Grassic Gibbon who sought to reconnect the Scotland of today with an older folk memory of the nation. What this thesis hopes to demonstrate is that the demarcations between colonist and anti-colonist, particularly within a Scottish context, are not as easy to define as might first be supposed. Even an ardent supporter of Empire like Buchan can be found exploring the paradoxes and ambiguities of the imperial process that threaten to disrupt the dominant hegemony. As Christopher MacLachlan, writing on *Witch Wood* and *The Dancing Floor*, states, 'Buchan's fascination with the irruption of the barbaric into the life of civilised man, akin to Stevenson's but more anthropologically expressed, has not received the attention and praise it deserves'.[5]

Due to the lack of critical writing on Buchan I have had to be selective in my choice of texts so rich is the source material in granting an understanding of the psychology of the imperial Scot. In keeping with the themes explored in the previous chapters I will focus on Buchan's sense of overlap between Here and There, the savage and the civilised and so will discuss such neglected works as *The African Colony*, which provides an extremely useful comparison to the travel and anthropological writings of Stevenson and Graham, and early short stories which provide a wealth of information on Buchan sense of himself as a Scot

[4] Alistair MacCleery, 'John Buchan and the Path of the Keen' in *English Literature in Transition*, vol. 29, no.3, 1986, pp.277-286 (p.278).
[5] Christopher MacLachlan, 'John Buchan's Novels About Scotland', in H. Drescher & J. Schwend (eds.), *Studies in Scottish Fiction: Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt: 1990), pp.45-60, (p.45).

within the Empire. As a result I have omitted what may appear the most obvious inclusion in any discussion of Buchan and Empire, *Prester John* (1910).[6] With its Stevensonian hero, David Crawfurd, and Haggard-like adventures in South Africa this has been regarded as Buchan's clearest *homage* to the writers of imperial romance he admired and by critics as a prime source for an understanding of Buchan's imperialism.[7] Yet *Prester John* is an atypical example within his *ouevre* and can be regarded as an apprentice work, Buchan learning how to execute the adventure form he would become famous for. At no other occasion does he use Africa as a backdrop for imperially minded adventures and this chapter will focus on his subtler explorations of the sense of the outer reaches of the Empire invading the domestic environment of home. Rather than concentrating on the most obvious example of Buchan's imperialist ideology as represented in his fiction by focusing on lesser known works the breadth and depth of his concept of imperialism is revealed. In order to do so I will discuss the Richard Hannay and the Dickson McCunn series, novels largely set within Britain or Europe, which tell us a great deal about Buchan's concept of Empire and his sense of the relationship between Scotland and the wider world.

Writing on the absence of a coherent political nationalism during the late nineteenth century Richard Finlay warns of the danger of believing 'our own contemporary definitions of Scottish nationalism are the only ones and anything which does not measure up to this is regarded as deviant.'[8] Buchan, commenting on Andrew Lang, unsurprisingly held a similar view since Lang was regarded by some as:

> an anglicized Scot who had somehow sold his birthright. Heaven forbid that I should attempt to dogmatize on what 'Scottishness' means. Our tradition is far too rich and various to be contracted into a formula.[9]

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[6] John Buchan, *Prester John* (London: Nelson, 1910)
[7] Craig Smith, 'Every Man Must Kill the Thing He Loves: Empire, Homoerotics and Nationalism in John Buchan's *Prester John*' in *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 28, no.2, Winter 1995, pp.173-200
[8] Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good?*, p.20.
[9] John Buchan, *Andrew Lang and the Border: being the Andrew Lang Lecture delivered before the University of St Andrews, 17 Oct 1932* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p.18.

The form of colonial nationalism adopted by Buchan displays an attempt to sustain a sense of Scotland's difference from England while promoting the value of a British identity. In their study of the development of colonial nationalism Eddy and Schreuder note that just 'as 'Englishmen' could claim to be both democrats and monarchists, so colonists saw no tension in being nationalists and imperialists'.[10] As a Tory Buchan held to the belief that the union was essential to sustaining the British Empire and yet was keen to encourage the distinctiveness of Scottish culture and national life. He believed that a greater degree of Scottish self-determination would actually benefit the Union, a view in keeping with his support for colonial nationalism elsewhere.[11] In this belief he held a great deal in common with many of those Scots who were forming the Scottish nationalist political parties of the interwar period. Rather than arguing the case for outright independence they posited a form of colonial nationalism similar to that being developed in the 'white settler' colonies of Australia, Canada and New Zealand.[12] Far from wanting Britain's imperial might to be overthrown they believed Scottish self-government would *strengthen* the Empire by enabling the government in London to devote more time to imperial matters. Buchan was therefore not as out of step with Scottish national sentiment as might first be supposed. Katie Trumpener has demonstrated the means by which the colonies provided the opportunity to reconcile differences expressed at home in Britain: 'the empire is not a site of struggle and conquest but a place in which Britain is successfully reconstituted, in miniaturized form. 'The Shamrock, Rose entwine' to form a single national culture - and the problem of Britain's internal unity is solved, symbolically, thousands of miles away from Britain'.[13] A century later Buchan attempts to achieve the same form of reconciliation in his fiction and affirm the

[10] John Eddy and Dereck Schreude (eds.), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1988), p.6.
[11] 'Canada has solved the problem which South Africa has to face. She has achieved union without sacrificing local patriotism.' 'The Quebec Tercentenary' in *Comments and Characters* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1940), pp.98-100. (p.99).
[12] Richard Finlay, 'For or Against': Scottish Nationalists and the British Empire, 1919-39' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXI, 1,2: Nos. 191/2: April, October 1992, pp.184-206.
[13] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p.254.

message in his public life. To criticise Buchan for supposed lack of 'Scottishness' is to apply an extremely narrow definition of the term by, as Cairns Craig suggests, identifying only 'one particular strand in cultural life, as though the culture's continuation depended on that aspect of tradition only'.[14] Craig goes on to discuss the term 'anglicizing' and makes the important point that:

> 'Anglicized Scots' may be participants in English culture but that does not prevent them from also being participants in Scottish culture, and it does not mean that their works may have very different meanings in the two cultures....Of course, they then become part of the on-going definition of English culture, but they can be read equally as the Scotticising or Irishing of English culture rather than the anglicization of Scottish or Irish culture.[15]

This is of particular relevance to Buchan and this chapter will demonstrate the way in which Buchan adapted certain codes of English imperialism according to his Scottish background, decentering the English imperial centre in the process.

Aside from a shared interest in the business of Empire and Scotland's role within it Buchan may seem an odd critical bed-fellow to have alongside Cunninghame Graham and Stevenson, both of whom displayed to varying degrees a commitment to anti-imperial activity. Attempts, most notably by David Daniell, have been made to rehabilitate the image of Buchan, challenging the accusations of anti-semitism, racism and jingoism. Daniell successfully brings to our attention the literary content of his work. In the index to *The Interpreter's House* we find a listing for Buchan's *alleged* imperialism.[16] Daniell intends to protect Buchan from the reputation also imposed on Kipling but does so by assuming that there is only one brand of imperialism, that of the stridently xenophobic variety. This thesis has hoped to demonstrate the complexity of the term 'imperialism', the way in which it could incorporate a range of contradictory impulses. Buchan does display, to a surprising extent, an interest in the same

[14] Cairns Craig, p.27.
[15] Ibid., p.29.
[16] David Daniell, p.220.

issues that held such a fascination for the other writers of this study. For reasons that will become evident, *Jekyll and Hyde* is the work that perhaps resonated most deeply with Buchan through its depiction of savagery irrupting within the imperial centre. However, an important difference between Buchan and Stevenson and Graham is that, due to his support for imperialism, in moments when the division between Self and Other become confused, rather than being allowed to retain their suggestive ambiguity as in the case of *Jekyll and Hyde*, Buchan frequently resolves matters in order to ensure the supposed benefits of civilisation win out.

In a manner similar to the two other writers discussed in this thesis Buchan is keen to blur the boundaries between 'here' and 'there', the civilised and the savage. In *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, *Huntingtower*, *Castle Gay* and *The Three Hostages*, the threat to the British Empire is largely internal. The enemy, rather than geographically distant and quite obviously Other, has succeeded in penetrating the most respectable niches of British society. Richard Hannay, towards the close of *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, finds himself playing an unsettling game of bridge with the three German spies he has been chased by and chasing throughout and who have disguised themselves in the cosy surroundings of middle-class suburbia. Hybridity, the cross-over points between the civilised and the savage, the extent to which being a Scot enables a greater degree of contact with those considered Other, are themes returned to time and time again within Buchan's *oeuvre*. A childhood which left him with a keen sense of the Calvinist double-self accounts for these points of similarity. As will be demonstrated, the Calvinist belief in an evil-double self as depicted in James Hogg *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* inevitably brought into question for Buchan simple divisions between good and evil.[17] As this thesis has hoped to demonstrate for Scottish writers such factors lent an immediacy to questions relating to the nature of the colonial encounter. Obviously the terms under which contact between 'civilised' and 'savage' society took place in Buchan's time were very different from those dealt with by Stevenson and

[17] Buchan held a copy of Hogg's *Justified Sinner* in his private library. *John Buchan Collection: Shelflist* Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston Ontario, 1978. Microfilm, St. Andrews University Library.

Graham. Following the 'Scramble for Africa' a period of consolidation ensued, with greater emphasis placed on how a paternalistic form of government could be engineered to ensure the stability of the newly conquered territories. It became increasingly obvious that Britain could not be expected to sustain the bureaucracy required to manage such a large land mass alone and that the colonies would have to secure a certain degree of self-determination. Buchan was a keen supporter of the transition from Empire to Commonwealth, a process that brought into question the divisions between 'Us' and 'Them', the coloniser and the colonised. As Chris Bongie notes, the 'imperial system acted as a buffer between the two very distinct realms of "civilization" and "savagery"'.[18] Paradoxically, the process of imperialism itself brought into question this division by putting 'into question the Other's autonomy, absorbing this Other into the body of the Same'.[19] This intermingling resulted in certain anxieties of Empire, anxieties that frequently break through the surface of Buchan's novels. In Parliament Buchan would suggest:

> The British Empire is to-day the strongest polity on the globe because it is a union of free nations, each following the law of its natural growth, a unity which is strong because, inside one great governing principle, it admits of the widest varieties and the profoundest differences.[20]

The effect on the centre those 'widest varieties' could have, however, is a matter approached with caution, intrigue and fear.

Christopher Harvie has suggested that in the process frequently 'Buchan subverts the British values he was once supposed to revere'.[21] Harvie goes on to draw attention to the cross-over in themes between Buchan and the writers of the Scottish Renaissance.[22] In his

[18] Chris Bongie, *Exotic Memories: Literature, colonialism and the fin-de-siècle* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), p.39.
[19] Ibid., p.18.
[20] *House of Commons Debates*, Vol. 211, 15 December 1927, column 2620.
[21] Christopher Harvie, 'Legalism, Myth and National Identity in Scotland in the Imperial Epoch' in *Cencrastus*, Summer 1989, no. 26, 35-41 (p.41).
[22] Christopher Harvie, 'For the Gods are Kittle-Kattle' in Robert Fraser (ed.), *Sir James Frazer and the Literary Imagination*, pp.253-269.

essay 'Second Thoughts of a Scotsman on the Make' Harvie attempts to make clear Buchan's support for Scottish nationalism by referring to a speech Buchan made in the House of Commons offering a passionate defence of the urgent necessity of Scotland generating a strong brand of nationalism.[23] However, Harvie fails to draw attention to one of the benefits Buchan suggests could be gained from a greater degree of self-determination - the means of controlling the influx of Irish Catholic immigrants:

> All is not well with our country. Our population is declining; we are losing some of the best of race stock by migration and their place is being taken by those who, whatever their merits, are not Scottish. I understand that every fifth child born now in Scotland is an Irish Roman Catholic.[24]

Several writers associated with the Scottish Renaissance, including Hugh MacDiarmid but most notably Compton Mackenzie, were sympathetic to Irish Catholic aims as part of their desire to distance themselves from a Protestant imperial identity.[25] The statistic Buchan quotes is to be found in reports made to the General Assembly, which also sought to conflate religion with race, that he would have been aware of through his father's and his own work with the Church. Buchan's family moved to Glasgow in 1888 where his father, the Reverend John Buchan, took over the Free Church that ministered to the Gorbals district. During this time Glasgow saw, as did many industrial areas of Scotland with a high concentration of Irish immigrants, support for the organisations concerned with securing Irish Home Rule. The threat this activity posed for the Protestant British Empire is underlined by the support these activities gained from individuals such as Kristnalal Datta of Bengal.[26] As this suggests while Buchan may have shared the same 'myth kitty' as Neil Gunn, Naomi Mitchison and Lewis Grassic Gibbon the ends to which that imaginative fund was put were very different. The

[23] Christopher Harvie, 'Second Thoughts of a Scotsman on the Make: Politics, Nationalism and Myth in John Buchan' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXX, no. 188, April 1991, 31-54 (p.51).
[24] *House of Commons Debates*, Vol. 272, 24 November 1932, vol. 272, col 261.
[25] From the Renaissance point of view the growth of Catholicism, and the influx of the Irish, are alike welcome, as undoing those accompaniments of the Reformation which have lain like a blight on Scottish arts and affairs.
C.M.Grieve, *Albyn or Scotland and the Future* (London: Kegan & Paul, 1927), pp.11-12.
[26] James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947), p.276.

same material that would prove so invigorating to the Modernists, making contact with the Other in order to revitalise a decaying Western culture, is put to use by Buchan as a means of forwarding the argument of sustaining the Empire. Unlike Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham, Buchan's loyalty to the imperial cause meant he could not afford to admit to the possibility of cultural or racial hybridity as this would lead to questioning of what he considered the fundamental moral right of the British to rule other peoples. Daniell, in a misguided attempt to absolve him from the charge of racism, states of Buchan's villains:

> They succumb not because they are Germans or whatever, but because their origin is *mixed*. They are the result of no settled tradition, which means that they cannot identify with the well-trodden path.[27]

Here Daniell suggests the hybrid in the work of Buchan as distinct from that of Stevenson is an individual to be feared, due to his uncanny ability to escape strict definition.

Within an imperial framework in which the boundaries between the savage and the civilised are indistinct Buchan depicts Scotland as existing betwixt-and-between the states of the civilised and the primitive. During the period he achieved popular success with his 'shockers' writers associated with Modernism were investigating the possibly invigorating benefits of contact with cultures considered savage. David Trotter, writing in relation to T.S. Eliot, notes that the conception of an 'apocalyptic view of history insisted that empires decay from the heart outwards, unless they can be reinvigorated by contact with the colonial periphery, the frontier-zone where civilisation meets barbarism'.[28] In a speech given in Canada during his time as Governor-General, Buchan indicates the way in which his experience of growing up in the Scottish Borders affected his sense of the 'frontier-zone':

> I had the good fortune to be born a Scottish Borderer. In the old days dwellers on a border had to be tough to survive...for every day they were looking across the marches to the land of

[27] David Daniell, p.129.
[28] David Trotter, 'Modernism and Empire', p.145.

> their ancestral enemies...Now, to-day we are all dwellers upon a Border. We are all, in a sense, warderns of the marches. The civilisation, which we once thought was so impregnable and secure, we know to-day to be not in itself a stable thing, a gift from the gods, but a thing which has to be fought for and jealously guarded.[29]

Buchan was writing at a time that saw British imperialism undergoing a radical reassessment. Anxieties concerning Britain's ability to maintain the Empire, brought to the fore by the inglorious nature of the Boer war, combined with an overweening national sense of racial superiority. Previously Britain had been unchallenged in its imperial status, but the Scramble for Africa brought home the extent to which Britain now faced European challengers for its supremacy. This marks the difference between the concept of the frontier and that of the 'contact zone', one a means of defining the boundaries between civilisation and the wilderness, the other marking a space for possible exchange between cultures. Norman Etherington in his excellent essay 'Buchan, Imperialism and Psychoanalysis' claims

> the imperial adventure stories of Haggard, Kipling and Conrad [...] had first expressed the idea of a Jekyll-Hyde split in the psyche and given it dramatic expression in encounters between civilization and savagery beyond imperial frontiers.[30]

The mention of 'Jekyll and Hyde' suggests that certain Scottish writers, Buchan included, could regard the conflict between 'civilization and savagery' taking place not *beyond* imperial frontiers, but within. The relevance of Buchan's Scottishness in relation to his depiction of the development of the British Empire becomes clear if it is borne in mind that contrary to the popular image of the British Empire as overweening self-confidence and racial pride, the imperial impulse was often fraught with anxiety and self-doubt. Patrick Brantlinger notes that towards the end of the nineteenth century confidence in Britain's imperial mission degenerated 'gradually to the defensiveness, self-doubt, and worries about "fitness",

[29] Upper Canada College, Toronto. Accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 313. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[30] Norman Etherington, 'Buchan, Imperialism and Psychoanalysis (cont.)' in *The John Buchan Journal*, No.7, Winter 1987, 20-26 (p.24).

"national efficiency", and racial and cultural decadence which characterize the end of the century'.[31] Buchan shared this concern stating 'the historic etiquette was breaking down; in every walk money seemed to count for more; there was a vulgar display of wealth, and a *rataquouère* craze for luxury. I began to have an ugly fear that the Empire might decay at the heart'.[32] One of the driving concerns of imperialists was that in order to sustain the health of the British Empire, the health and well-being of Britons had to be ensured and vice versa. As Bernard Semmel explains, the development of social imperialism promoted the belief that 'true imperialism began at home'.[33] While Buchan's novels do not have the international sweep of Stevenson, when using British settings he is not turning away from the challenge presented by the imperial frontier. Rather Buchan is well aware of the 'heart of darkness' that threatens Britain's future from within.

Although Richard Finlay and John M. MacKenzie have done a great deal to recontextualise the subject of Scottish nationalism, demonstrating how Scotland's imperial success provided the opportunity for a form of Scottish nationalism, the fact that this developed in opposition to increased English Ango-Saxon racial confidence has resulted in the possible anxieties that threat might create in a Scot attempting to make his way in English society. Buchan's early work investigates the potential 'otherness' of the Scot and also highlights the way in which his Scottishness confused the Manichean divisions of imperialism. The Scottish landscape is a region where 'the laws of the compass had ceased to hold',[34] where the dividing line between the past and the present, the sophisticated and the primitive becomes lost in the mist.

If, as Andrew Lownie suggests, several stories to be found in *The Watcher By The Threshold* (1902) grant an insight into Buchan's 'possible state of mind at Oxford',[35] they

[31] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p.33.
[32] Quoted in Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1970* (London Longman, 1975), p.230.
[33] Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought 1895-1914* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960), p.130.
[34] John Buchan, *The Watcher by the Threshold*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1916), p.43.
[35] Andrew Lownie, p.83.

reveal an attempt to resolve the author's close attachment to the wild regions of Scotland with the newly discovered 'civilised' Anglo-Saxon world of Oxford. Although he was affectionately teased for his Scottishness in Oxford, he was obviously determined to fit in with the representatives of the English upper-classes he encountered. On visits back home to Scotland it was thought he had become 'too Oxfordy' while Arnold Bennett on meeting him struggled to discern a Scottish accent.[36] Buchan was clearly influenced by Arnoldian concepts of the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon and anthropological theories of the time, particularly those of the man who would become his close friend, Andrew Lang. In his speech 'Andrew Lang and the Border', he states 'about the age of 17 Andrew Lang was the chief deity in my pantheon'.[37] Lang shared Buchan's border upbringing and as Kyoko Matsumoto suggests, this would bear a strong influence on the anthropologist's later interest in folklore and anthropology, as 'to be a boy living in the Border country itself offered many associations with romances and legends'.[38] As demonstrated in the previous chapter relating to Stevenson, despite his close association with a region in which the 'survivals' of ancient myth still existed, Lang's work enabled a certain psychological distancing from the ways of primitive peoples. Yet Lang believed in 'No-Man's Land', according to Buchan in his lecture 'Andrew Lang and the Border'; 'alone of all my friends [he] held that not only was the thing conceivable, but almost certainly true.'[39] In *Adventures in Books*, Lang suggests the paradoxical position of Scotland in relation to the British Empire. In his boyhood he 'beheld the very roofless cottage whence Mungo Park went forth to trace the waters of the Niger, and at Oakwood the tower of the wizard Michael Scott'.[40] The Borders can lay claim to being the home to one of the early heroes of Empire, determined to forge a path for civilisation, and also a representative of primitive superstition and magic, those elements that colonists would seek

[36] Janet Adam Smith, p.70, p.56.
[37] John Buchan, *Andrew Lang and the Border*, p.3.
[38] Kyoko Matsumoto, *Andrew Lang and the Fairy Tale*, M. Phil Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1985, p.47.
[39] John Buchan, *Andrew Lang and the Border*, p.10.
[40] Andrew Lang, *Adventures in Books*, (London: Longmans, 1905), p.48.

to eradicate or at least temper in the peoples they encountered. It is a region where 'the past, even the hoar-ancient past, makes curious inroads on the present'.[41]

In 'No-Man's Land' Buchan seeks to explore this paradoxical position and in doing so takes the anthropological theory of 'survivals' to its extreme when Robert Graves, an undergraduate of Oxford and 'a distant kinsman' (*TWBTT*, 3) of the House of Grant, whose boyhood was spent in Lochaber, comes across a tribe of Picts living in the Scottish Borders, terrifying the local inhabitants who believe the actions of their primeval neighbours to be those of Brownies. The story can be interpreted as Buchan's satirical interpretation of 'armchair anthropologists' like J. G. Frazer and Andrew Lang who detailed the ways of peoples distant in time and space while remaining at home. As mentioned previously in this thesis, their work would influence the methods of colonial rule of administrators who found themselves on the colonial frontier. Buchan collapses the distance between the lifestyle of the scholarly intellectual and the image of the colonial adventurer in a manner far more explicit than Rider Haggard, who placed within his imperial romances elements of anthropological detail. Anna Ritchie makes clear the extent to which archaeology, anthropology and racial theory were interconnected when she details the 1870s argument over who built brochs - the Celtic Picts or the Norsemen. The argument of one James Fergusson:

> rested on an extraordinary value judgment of the low level of Celtic society: the Celts, he considered, have never shown 'that steady self-reliant independence which renders the Saxon so invaluable as a colonist'.[42]

The Borders are portrayed as a 'fearful' place, outside history, home to a pre-civilised people who unsettle the linear sense of both time and progress. As previously suggested, the concept of survivals enabled a temporal distance between the civilised world and that of primitive peoples. This disallowed the potenitally disruptive influence of cultural relativism

[41] John Buchan, *Andrew Lang and the Border*, p.9.
[42] Anna Ritchie, *Perceptions of the Picts: from Eumenius to John Buchan* (Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum Trust, 1994), p.21.

acting in opposition to the ideology of imperialism. Buchan unsettles this temporal division by having Graves communicate with the Pictish 'Folk' through Gaelic, suggesting that Gaelic is less refined, more primitive than English, a 'survival' in the present day. It is this 'uncanny' similarity between the Picts and elements of the present day that fascinates Graves and suggests Buchan's clear debt to Stevenson. Graves' terror is akin to that of the darker episodes of Stevenson's *Kidnapped* in which David Balfour experiences the terror of the 'uncanny' underground world of 'Cluny's Cage'. Both Graves and David experience a sensation of intense estrangement from a world that should be familiar to them as their own country. A further connection with Stevenson is the reference to heather ale (*TWBTT*, 48) - Stevenson wrote a poem on the subject - and is implicitly conveyed by Graves' Jekyll-like determination to revisit the Pictish settlement despite the extreme terror of his prior encounter.

It becomes clear that Graves' Scottish ancestry draws him back, causing his unwillingness to give himself over to the genteel pleasures of Oxford. Returning from his first escape from the Picts, Graves 'pined for sharp outlines and the tangibility of high civilisation'(*TWBTT*, 67). In an attempt to eradicate his memories of 'all things Northern' he turns himself into a near caricature of the public school educated Oxford blue:

> I threw myself into the most frivolous life of the place. My Harrow schooldays seemed to have come back to me. I had once been a fair cricketer, so I played again for my college, and made decent scores. I coached an indifferent crew on the river. I fell into the slang of the place, which I had hitherto detested. My former friends looked on me askance, as if some freakish changeling had possessed me. (*TWBTT*, 67)

However, Graves soon tires of this pretence believing:

> that the fresh school-boy life which seemed to me the extreme opposite of the ghoulish North, and as such the most desirable of things, was eternally cut off from me. No cunning affectation could ever dispel my real nature or efface the memory of a week. (*TWBTT*, 68)

The reference to 'my real nature' reveals that it is Graves' Scottishness that draws him back. The hybrid nature of the Picts (to continue the race they kidnap local women) is therefore reflected in Graves' own hybrid state, a man of reason and learning who becomes fascinated by the savage and irrational, a Scot who attempts to relinquish his Scottishness and yet pays the ultimate price by failing to do so. Graves believes his work will result in an advance in learning, a furthering of anthropological theory and, obviously having read his Haggard, the material benefits or spoils of discovery. Irritated by the musings of a friend at the British Museum, 'full of some new theory about primitive habitations' (*TWBTT*, 69), he realises he has to return to the North:

> There lay the greatest discovery of the century - nay, of the millennium. There, too, lay the road to wealth such as I had never dreamed of. Could I succeed, I should be famous for ever. I would revolutionise history and anthropology; I would systemise folklore; I would show the world of men the pit whence they were digged and the rock whence they were hewn. (*TWBTT*, 70)

In a subversion of the expected outcome of imperialist fiction, Graves' hubris is punished as in his attempt to escape from the clutches of the Picts for a second time he witnesses their supposed destruction (*TWBTT*, 92-94). The Borders therefore violently disrupt a linear concept of progress, as the central narrative itself stops when Graves becomes too weak to finish the story himself, dying before he has the opportunity to complete his tale. Graves pays the price for giving himself over completely to the Other, in the process realising, as did Dr Jekyll before him, the extent to which the Other resides within.

Buchan would appear to confirm Patrick Brantlinger's assessment that for many writers of Empire 'the atavistic descents into the primitive experienced by fictional characters seem often to be allegories of the larger regressive movement of civilisation, British progress transformed into British backsliding'.[43] This was a process commentators were aware of at

[43] Patrick Brantlinger, p.229.

the time as Andrew Lang relates how tales of adventure appeal to the savage in all of us. 'Not for nothing did Nature leave us all savages under our white skins; she has wrought thus that we might have many delights, among others 'the joy of adventurous living,' and of reading about adventurous living'.[44] But the sense of the 'savage within' could prove highly unsettling as it disallowed the distance between coloniser and colonised that enabled the system to operate. Lang suggested that against the emasculating effect of Realism the appeal of 'boys' books' lay in their being 'savage survivals', celebrating the fact he can enjoy both Mrs Burnett's *Through One Administration* while 'the natural man within me, the survival of some blue-painted Briton or of some gipsy, was equally pleased with a *true* Zulu love story [...]. The advantage of our mixed condition, civilized at top with the old barbarian under our clothes, is just this, that we can enjoy all sorts of things'.[45] 'No-Man's Land' can be interpreted as an exploration of the relationship between these twin poles of Romance; on one side assisting in promoting the spread of civilisation and on the other allowing a regression back to 'savagery'. 'No Man's Land' outlines one of the themes Buchan would return to time and time again in his subsequent work, that of imperialism's Janus face, the fact the impulse to civilise and a yearning to understand, even to *become* the savage, were co-dependent. 'No-Man's Land' conveys a theme that would emerge throughout Buchan's work, the fascination of delving into the subterranean world of the primitive, but also the potential danger of giving oneself over entirely to the Other. In the process Scotland becomes the location, as Cairns Craig suggests, 'of imaging forces that history will not subdue',[46] in this case, the primitive and the irrational. Craig goes on to say:

> If the trajectory of the historical belonged to England, there was no point in documenting it: its reality, like the reality of civilised capitalism, was only skin deep: it was what lay beyond that history, what refused to be accepted into it but would

[44] Andrew Lang, 'Realism and Romance', p.689.
[45] Ibid., pp.689-690.
[46] Cairns Craig *Out of History*, p.44.

> always be returning to claim our recognition of its kinship with us, that the Scottish writers sought to document.[47]

Rather than the 'historical' as represented by the comfortable world of Oxford Graves prefers to explore what lies outside the bounds of history and reason.

In his earliest work, therefore, Buchan is unsettling the assumptions of imperialist fiction. Gail Ching-Liang Low, using the work of Northrop Frye, suggests that imperial romance offered the opportunity for the author to convey a sense of security:

> Tracing the link between identity, alienation and wish-fulfillment, Frye also argues that of all literary forms, romance comes closest to the functions of wish-fulfillment in dreams. But these dreams rather than expressing the anarchic surfacing of unconscious desires, reflect a tightly controlled vision. For the die is cast from the very start; despite the trials which form the quest, identity and containment are always effected through the narrative's ending [...].[48]

Identity and containment are the very things that disappear in several stories in *The Watcher by the Threshold*. For Buchan this 'tightly controlled vision' could sometimes give way allowing an 'anarchic surfacing of unconscious desires'. Instead of the 'linear plot of imperial heroism'[49] Buchan suggests the Picts live on, going as far as providing the reader with directions in order to recreate Graves' experience. Scotland combines both the civilised and the uncivilised, upsetting the distinction between the core and the periphery. Low indentifies imperialist literature as suggesting that the further people travelled from the cultural centre the further they also travelled back in time[50] - Scotland is so far removed from the centre as to be prehistoric and so the story suggests that the wild and savage might be closer to the centre than is thought - just a train journey away.

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[47] Ibid., p.46.
[48] Gail Ching-Liang Low, *White Skins/Black Masks*, pp.46-47.
[49] Daniel Bivona, p.81.
[50] Gail Ching-Liang Low, p.75.

The concept of history held by Scottish writers in terms of 'cycles and repetitions rather than in terms of beginnings, middles and ends'[51] is further conveyed in 'The Far Islands' as the central character, Colin Raden, is unable to escape the racial destiny of his ancestors despite his anglicization through education. The story begins in the realm of myth as it is recounted Bran the Blessed grants gifts to his followers Heliodorus and Raymond, yet none to Colin who 'alone of the three, after their master's going, remained on that coast of rock and heather' (*TWBTT*, 106). Further down the centuries the descendants of Colin take on the name of Raden:

> Rarely one of the house saw middle age. A bold, handsome, and stirring race, it was their fate to be cut off in the rude warfare of their times, or, is peace had them in its clutches, to man vessel and set off once more on those mad western voyages which were the weird of the family. (*TWBTT*, 108)

At the end of the nineteenth century, Colin Raden is foredoomed to repeat the early deaths of his ancestors. Colin grows to like the 'warm, south country'(*TWBTT*, 121) through his education at an English public school, returning to 'his native place, without enthusiasm' and relinquishing his Scottishness at Oxford:

> His own countrymen in the place were utterly nonplussed by him. They claimed him as eagerly as a fellow, but he had none of the ordinary characteristics of the race....He had no great love for the bleak country, he cared nothing for the traditions of his house, so he was promptly set down by his compatriots as 'denationalised and degenerate'. (*TWBTT*, 124-125)

Despite this Colin remains haunted by the 'dream of the Celt', a vision of the distant mythic island of Cuna. Although it would appear he has been completely subsumed into the civilised world of the Anglo-Saxon, a world in which he appears to have a bright future as a natural leader of men, he returns time and time again to the romantic sanctuary of rowing a boat

[51] Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, p.36.

beyond the Rim of Mist to reach his 'Isle of Apple-Trees', leading him to live a 'curious divided life' (*TWBTT*, 137). Later, as a soldier on the colonial frontier he discovers:

> fragments of the Other world straying into his common life. The barriers of the two domains were falling, and more than once he caught himself looking at the steel-blue sea when his eyes should have found a mustard-coloured desert. (*TWBTT*, 139)

Inevitably the moment when Colin is able to reconcile the two sides of his 'divided life' comes at the moment of his death after being hit by a bullet:

> With a passionate joy he leaped on the beach, his arms outstretched to this new earth, this light of the world, this old desire of the heart - youth, rapture, immortality. (*TWBTT*, 144)

The colonial frontier, where the primitive and the civilised meet, is the perfect 'contact zone' in which Colin can achieve his life's destiny. The melancholy aspect of the story suggests that Buchan believed, in Arnoldian fashion, that the Celt was not wholly of this world and could not live fully in the practical world of the every day. Yet the deep attachment Colin has to an aspect shared with his ancestors also grants him a deep sense of belonging, one that sustains him through the years. Buchan would continue to hold an ambiguous relationship with notions of the Celtic. His description of the new frontier discovered in his short story 'Space', published in *The Moon Endureth* (1912), bears a close resemblance to a passage in the introduction by Yeats to Lady Gregory's *Of Gods and Fighting Men* (1904) but yet again that ends in death.[52] As with 'No Man's Land', Buchan displays an interest in a world hidden

[52] 'How if all animals and some savages have a cell in their brain or a nerve which responds to the invisible world? How if all Space be full of these landmarks, not material in our sense, but quite real? A dog barks at nothing, a wild beast makes an aimless circuit. Why? Perhaps because Space is made up of corridors and alleys, ways to travel and things to shun?' John Buchan, 'Space', in *The Moon Endureth* (London: Blackwood, 2nd imp., 1912), p.122.
'One often hears of a horse that shivers with terror, or of a dog that howls at something a man's eyes cannot see and men who live primitive lives where instinct does the work of reason are fully conscious of many things that we cannot perceive at all.' W.B. Yeats in Lady Gregory, *Gods and Fighting Men* (London: John Murray, 1904), p.xii.

from history and the linear progress of the present, and the place best suited for these explorations is Scotland. It suggests that Alan Sandison's claim in relation to Buchan is only partially correct:

> Awareness of the civilisation 'compact', then, posits awareness of the anti-civilisation, anti-self forces which constitute a permanent threat. The anarchic primitive, reminding us so forcibly of the man-made nature of the concept, is, as in Conrad, a particular anathema.[53]

Although written many years later *Witch Wood* (1927)[54] also draws on the influence of Andrew Lang and marks a return to a paradoxical Scotland that allows for the presence of those elements considered to exist outside history. Lang wrote a lengthy introduction to *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* by Robert Kirk, a minister who took an acute interest in the folk tales of his parish. It was rumoured he did not die at all but was taken away to join the 'Good Folk', a clear parallel for the rumours that acrue around the fate of David Sempill the hero of *Witch Wood*. R. B. Cunninghame Graham wrote the Prologue to Lang's edition of *The Secret Commonwealth* in which he links the tales of Kirk to the collection of folktales by anthropologists on the further reaches of Empire. Woodilee is described in terms similar to that of an outpost of the Empire, as existing on a borderland between the savage and the civilised. The local worthy is described as a 'a *revenant* from an older world' (*WW*, 23), bringing to mind Andrew Lang's theory of 'survivals', and David speculates on arrival 'Was Woodilee to prove a frontier post for God's servant against the horrid mysteries of heathendom?' (*WW*, 22). The unnamed narrator of the Prologue describes it as resting on 'the pass of road and water - yes, and shall I say? - of spirit, for it was in the throat of the hills, on the march between the sown and the desert'(*WW*, 7). The Prologue bears a marked similarity to the opening of *Weir of Hermiston* by conveying a

[53] Alan Sandison, *The Wheel of Empire - A study of the imperial idea in some late nineteenth and early twentieth-century fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p.161.
[54] John Buchan, *Witch Wood*, J. C. Greig (ed.), 1927 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

sense of the forces of the past existing beneath the surface of the present as the narrator experiences a vision of Woodilee as it was several centuries ago (*WW*, 7-8). A further Stevensonian similarity is the story's focus on the growing maturity of David Sempill, an idealistic youth who has to negotiate the moral ambiguities of the adult world, his name suggesting a parallel to *Kidnapped*'s David Balfour. An indication of the moral flux David is to find himself in is his interest in the 'Pagan writers' (*WW*, 17). Greek though the 'tongue of the New Testament, it was also the tongue of lascivious poets and mocking philosophers'(*WW*, 17). As David becomes increasingly fascinated with the wood Melanudrigill in which heathen practices occur he realises the place itself is innocent and that it is the ideology of men which corrupts it:

> His crusading fury [...] had sensibly abated, for part of his wrath against witchcraft had been due to his own awe of the Wood and his disgust at such awe. Now the place was a shelter for a friend, and a meeting-ground for one he loved, and the cloud which had weighed on him since he first saw it from the Hill of Deer gave place to clear sky. Men might frequent Melanudrigill for hideous purposes, but the place itself was innocent, and he wondered with shame how he came ever to think that honest wood and water and stone could have intrinsic evil. (*WW*, 175-176)

The novel is full of such ambiguities, as those who would be considered 'Other' - Katrine, David's lover who dies attempting to save the townsfolk from the plague yet is cursed for her acts and the General Montrose who is demonised within the area - are revealed as purer of heart than the respectable members of authority who are revealed as the perpetrators of evil. The old, innocent ways of Paganism have become polluted by the creed of Calvinism which in ignoring the ambiguities of the world and setting clear Manichean boundaries between the Elect and the Rest has, paradoxically, generated the conditions which allow evil to flourish. Appropriately, the novel is left open-ended, and the reader is left uncertain of David's fate. Indeed instead of becoming either a member of the church or political establishment it seems he will die a miserable death on a distant battlefield. The

absence of a clear resolution to David's story is appropriate to a novel that rejects ideological certainties. He leaves behind an ambiguous memory that he was either carried off by the Fairies or dragged away by the Devil (*W W*, 292). As MacLachlan states, 'These legends reflect the dualism of the country he has abandoned, a dualism which neither the novel nor its hero resolves, but leaves behind in a gesture of exile'.[55] It also reinforces the sense of Scotland as representing the world of myth rather than historical truth. In contrast to Robert Graves, Sempill feels he has to leave the anti-historical cyclical Scotland for the progressive yet equally destructive forces of history.

## I

Despite these explorations beyond the boundaries of civilisation, Buchan retained a great faith in the ability of the Empire to provide a means of rejuvenating British society. Accounts of his own experiences of Empire take on the form of what Ling describes as 'imperial nostalgia' a pastoralisation of regions of the Empire that allows a regressive escape from the mundane complexities of modern life. Fittingly enough according to Buchan's memoirs it was Andrew Lang, the man who a decade or so previously had called the reading public to turn away from the neurotically inward, emasculating visions afforded by literary Realism to the bracingly manly adventures of Romance, who encouraged him to meet the demands of Empire:

> The gipsy impulse which had dominated my boyhood seemed to have vanished [...]. Andrew Lang and I shared a rod on a little dry-fly trout stream in Hertfordshire, where I spent many pleasant Saturdays, and he used to laugh at my new-found enthusiasm for lowland waters, as he jeered at my absorption in

[55] Christopher MacLachlan, p.54.

> law. He thought it a sad descent from the Borderer and erstwhile Jacobite.[56]

Interestingly, although this rallying encounter takes place in Hertfordshire, it is the memory of Buchan's childhood experiences of the Borders and images of a romantic Scottish past that suggest the elements that would spur Buchan on to reconnect with the excitement and adventure of his youth. The way he went about solving the existential *ennui* that would later descend on his heroes Richard Hannay and Edward Leithen was by joining part of a team in 1902 headed by Lord Milner that would be responsible for the reconstruction of South Africa in the wake of the Boer War. Buchan was greatly influenced by the ideas of Lord Milner, whom he served under in South Africa and whom he followed into the Cabinet as Minister of Information. Milner promoted a brand of social imperialism, a creed he held to be outside politics. Milner, born in Germany and educated in Germany, was similar to Buchan through his differences from 'his social-imperial colleagues....not cut in any of the conventional English public school patterns'.[57]

In *Memory Hold-the-Door* (1940) Buchan describes the extent to which his experience in South Africa influenced his concept of Empire. Having previously viewed imperialism only in terms of a rather dull political theory he was to experience the reality of Britain's imperial legacy, one he felt full of unrealised potential:

> In London I had slipped into a sort of spiritual middle age. Now, at the age of twenty-five, youth came back to me like a spring tide, and every day on the voyage to the Cape saw me growing younger. As soon as we had passed the Bay of Biscay I seemed to be in a new world, with new scents, new sounds, new sights. I was intoxicated with novelties of which hitherto I had only glimpses in books. The blue days in tropical waters were a revelation of bodily and mental ease. I recovered the same exhilaration which long ago, as a boy on the Fife coast, I had got from the summer sea.[58]

[56] John Buchan, *Memory Hold-the-Door* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1940), p.91.
[57] Bernard Semmel, p.177.
[58] John Buchan, *Memory Hold-the-Door,* p.96.

What is important to note in this passage is the sense of personal rebirth that contact with the imperial frontier enjoins, an experience Buchan had been preparing for, although not realising it at the time, through the medium of imperial or travel literature ('novelties of which hitherto I had only glimpsed in books'). Physical and mental satisfaction become one and the same suggesting the Carlylean belief, shared by many supporters of the imperial cause, that physical health was necessary if mental health was to be sustained. 'Imperial nostalgia' is also invoked in his return to boyhood through the memories of the Fife coast. What is striking about this passage when compared to the travel writing of Stevenson and Graham is its solipsism, the absence of any sense of the possibility of coming into contact with anything unknowable. Despite the invocation of 'new scents, new sounds, new sights' everything is mediated through or absorbed into either Buchan's prior reading or childhood memory. The author becomes the imperial 'I/Eye', the single source of narrative authority responsible for mapping out the territory he encounters. *The African Colony: A Study in Reconstruction* (1903),[59] written shortly after Buchan's return to Britain, illustrates the extent to which this standpoint, one necessary if the requirements of colonial rule were to be carried out unquestioningly, would result in a form of travel writing very different from that previously examined in this thesis. Nevertheless, as in the case of Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham, Buchan's response to South Africa was strongly influenced by his sense of Scottishness.

*The African Colony* was written explicitly as a manifesto in order to convince Britons that South Africa was a colony worth retaining. The book combines anthropological, travel and political discussion. Buchan strongly believed the colonies offered the opportunity to reinvigorate Britain by providing new opportunities for emigrants but the book is also a personal celebration of a country with which he had formed a strong emotional attachment. His friend L. S. Amery notes with surprise in his *Times Literary Supplement* review of the book that a reader will search in vain for references to Milner or any of the other

[59] John Buchan, *The African Colony: Studies in Reconstruction* (London: William Blackwood, 1903).

administrators.[60] From the title itself it becomes quickly evident that Buchan will take a very different approach in his discussion of the land, peoples and future of South Africa than that taken by Stevenson in the South Seas or Cunninghame Graham in South America. Instead of an admission of the subjective position of the travel writer to be found in the title *In the South Seas*, *The African Colony* defines the country in terms of its relationship to Britain and suggests the intention of the author to provide a wholly objective, definitive account of the life and landscape of the colony. As Andrew Lownie points out, Buchan did believe that the success of the future British Commonwealth could only be fully achieved if the white settler colonies attained a degree of self-determination.[61] Nevertheless, *The African Colony* reveals a strongly paternalistic approach towards the settler colonies.

*The African Colony* frequently offers an insight into the racial prejudice that then suffused British colonial rule. The slow collapse of the Portuguese Empire's control of South Africa, for example, is blamed on the consequences of intermarriage between the settlers and the indigenous population.[62]

> No race can colonise which cannot decentralise its energy; but equally no race can colonise which can wholly decentralise its sentiment and memory. Portugal failed for this reason chiefly, that the Portuguese forgot Portugal...The white man's pride died in their hearts. They were ready to mix with natives on equal terms. Now concubinage is bad, but legitimate marriage with half-castes is infinitely worse for the *morale* of a people. And since Nature to the end of time has a care of races but not of hybrids, this tolerant, foolish, unstable folk dropped out of the battle-line of life, and sank from conquerors to resident aliens while their country passed from an empire to a vague seaboard. (*AC*, 29-30)

Rather than the potential benefits of cross-racial union suggested, if tentatively, by Stevenson's *The Beach of Falesá*, according to Buchan the 'sexual politics' (in the most

[60] L. S. Amery, *Times Literary Supplement*, November 27, 1903, p.342.
[61] Andrew Lownie, p.82.
[62] Buchan states: 'Instead of holding the outposts of European culture, they sank themselves into the ways of the soil which their forefathers had conquered' (*AF*, 28). This provides an interesting parallel to the theory posited by Andrew Dewar Gibb in *Scottish Empire* that Ulster's standing as the most successful British colony rested on the absence of intermarriage between Scots and Irish.

literal sense of the phrase) of the colonial frontier have to be closely monitored for colonial rule to be maintained. Graham's treatise against the sentimentalisation of the Empire, *The Imperial Kailyard*, a process that hypocritically ignores the sexual misconduct of the sons of Empire, works in sharp contrast to Buchan's boyish denial of the hybridisation brought about by the imperial process. In his thoughts relating to the various races found in South Africa, theories of evolutionary anthropology evidently exerted a strong influence on the young colonial official. In referring to 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' in the opening chapter 'Primitive South Africa' as 'having within them no real vitality' and so they 'have perished utterly as peoples' (*AC*, 7) imperialist Darwinism comes to the fore, creating a sense of the evolutionary inevitability of the process of colonialisation. This is reinforced by referring to the cycles of internal migration as resulting in 'a general displacement, so that no tribe can claim an ancient possession of its territory' (*AC*, 11). The claim of the tribes against the colonists determined to take away their land is undermined. For Buchan the British invaders therefore can be regarded as being simultaneously one in a long line of shifting populations *and* the topmost rung on the ladder of evolution. Ultimately the strongest race has succeeded in claiming the land, their racial superiority granting the British the right to rule.

The lyrical descriptions of the animal and bird life of the South African veldt found in the second section of *The African Colony*, entitled 'Notes on Travel', disguise the political and ideological implications of the book. As John M. MacKenzie has demonstrated, hunting was an important means of establishing control over the land by the colonial power. In *Empires of Nature* Mackenzie draws attention to the way in which Scotland provided a template for land management elsewhere in the Empire. He states 'it may well be that the conceptualisation of the Scottish environment influenced colonial concepts, while the imperial experience transmitted ideas back to Scotland'.[63] Writing in relation to imperial settlers, he goes on to say 'in the nineteenth century they were only following the precedent of Scotland,

[63] John M. MacKenzie, *Empires of Nature*, p.23.

where both landscape and fauna were controlled to enhance sporting opportunities'.[64] The connection between the two is made explicit when Buchan states:

> An English country-house [...] could be created here, where the owner might forget his continent. And in time this will happen as the rich man pushes farther out from the city for his home, he will remake the most complaisant of countries to suit his taste, and, save for climate and a certain ineradicable flora and fauna, patches of Surrey and Perthshire will appear on this kindly soil. (*AC*, 79-80)

Later he describes the country house he will build in South Africa once he has earned enough money (*AC*, 119), suggesting the control of South Africa depends on it being regarded simply as an extension of home, and so, as Nicholas Thomas suggests:

> There is no question that what already exists on the periphery has validity or merit on its own terms; what is positive relates only to identifications that can be made between the centre and the margin, and the scope that these mark out for the fashioning of something new, for the rebirth of people and place in terms defined by the colonists.[65]

The chapter entitled 'The Future of Sport in South Africa', the last section in 'Notes on Travel', makes explicit the connection between Buchan's travels and the commercialisation of the land. In it Buchan lists the most attractive fauna available to the, implicitly British, hunter thereby defining the landscape in terms of how it will prove socially or economically profitable to the colonists (*AC*, 168-186). The codification of hunting by British settlers enabling them to take control of the land and its inhabitants is demonstrated by the chapter entitled 'The Boer as Sportsman'. Buchan implies the racial inferiority of the Boer by passing comment on the primitive, or more precisely, non-ritualised techniques of the Boer hunter. He bemoans the fact that the Boers did not keep a written record of the animals killed,

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[64] Ibid., p.39.
[65] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp.155-156.

neatly illustrating the literary means by which British colonists maintained physical control over a region. (*AC*, 53). The ideological component hunting had acquired symbolising the degree of civilisation attained by a particular culture is demonstrated when Buchan suggests the Boer's inability to play by the rules established by a tradition, his lack of a sportsmanlike spirit. The absence of an 'hereditary tradition' (*AC*, 49) is responsible for the Boer's 'barbarous' (*AC*, 50) techniques. He states that the only truly great huntsmen South Africa has seen have been British and notably the list of notable names he provides contains several - Gordon-Cumming, John Macdonald - that suggest a Scottish provenance (*AC*, 53).

Reading Buchan's views on how the black population should be treated while bearing in mind the work of R. B. Cunninghame Graham it becomes difficult to use the argument, as Gertrude Himmelfarb does, that Buchan was simply a product of his time.[66] Graham was also such a product and had sympathetic imagination enough to challenge the racism that maintained British colonial rule. As an agent of that rule Buchan could not afford to make such an imaginative leap and it is important to bear in mind that, within the context of the times, as a colonial agent Buchan was considered a moderate.[67] Yet by measuring the racial Other solely according to one standard, that of the requirements of Western civilisation, and by denying the possibility of independent agency on the part of the black population he reveals, as demonstrated in his later novels, a refusal to entertain wholeheartedly the possibility of a dialogue between the Self and the exotic Other. Despite this *The African Colony* does contain moments that complicate the image of Buchan as a narrow-minded apologist for Empire. In 'Primitive South Africa' he writes of the Mashona tribe as:

> a survival of the oldest civilisations in the heart of modern barbarism. The traveller, who sees in the wilds of Manicaland a sacrifice of oxen to the Manes of the tribe, sees in a crude imitation the rites which the hook-nosed, dark-eyed adventurers brought from the old splendid cities of the Mediterranean, where with wild music and unspeakable cruelties and lusts the

[66] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), p.257.
[67] In his review L. S. Amery comments on Buchan's moderation on the native question.

> votaries of Baal and Astarte celebrated the cycle of the seasons and the mysteries of the world. (*AC*, 11)

This passage reveals some of the paradoxes associated with imperial literature. On one hand, Buchan can easily be accused of racism through his suggestion that the native races of South Africa rather than displaying an authentic, autochthonous culture show in fact a degenerate version of customs originating in Europe and the East. However, the passage also conveys a fascinated admiration of the rituals described, a sense later conveyed to melancholy effect in the short story 'The Grove of Ashtaroth', published in *The Moon Endureth*, that 'primitive' tribes have access to an older form of knowledge lost to modern civilisation. Set in an African colony the Grove results in the colonist Lawson going native, regressing to ancient, savage ritual. The Grove is subsequently destroyed yet the narrator experiences remorse, sensing 'that I had driven something lovely and adorable from its last refuge on earth'.[68] Buchan rarely investigates the central irony of such moments of the colonial encounter; while the colonist may appreciate the alternative reality offered by the peoples encountered he is the representative of change that will eradicate such celebrations of 'the cycle of the seasons and the mysteries of the world'. Despite this he expresses scepticism towards the supposed benefits of progress. As he states in *The African Colony* 'Degeneration and advance are not fixed processes, but recur in cycles in the history of every nation' (*AC*, 5), celebrating the fact that past and present are intimately intertwined:

> To most men she is a country without history, or, if she has a certain barbarous chronicle, it is without significance. The truth is nearly at the opposite pole. South Africa is bound to the chariot-wheels of her past, and that past is intricately varied - a museum of the wrecks of conquerors and races, joining hands with most quarters of the Old World. More, it is the place where savagery is most intimately linked with latter-day civilisation. (*AC*, 3-4)

[68] John Buchan, *The Moon Endureth*, p.205.

Buchan is frequently cited as drawing on J. G. Frazer's concept of the thin crust of civilisation beneath which lurks savagery and violence.[69] What is left unremarked, however, is the ambiguity with which Buchan treats this theme. Although the glimpse of the savage beneath the skin is depicted as terrifying, his work frequently carries the belief in the importance of making a reconnection with older beliefs. As will be demonstrated later, it was his close attachment to the landscape of the Scottish borders that resulted in an interest in regions that display a co-mingling of the savage and the civilised. Writing about a patch of bush-veldt, 'as rare on our high veldt as are fragments of the old Ettrick forest in Tweedsdale', seen in the early evening sun he discerns 'a curious savagery about that little patch, which is neither veldt nor woodland, but something dwarfish and uncanny' (*AC*, 88). Buchan then anticipates a society in which:

> civilisation will march sharply with barbarism....It is much for a civilisation to have its background - the Egyptian against the Ethiopian, Greek against Thracian, Rome against Gaul. It is also much for a race to have an outlook a far horizon to which its fancy can turn.(*AC*, 89)

What is striking about this passage occurring within the context of a book that ostensibly maps out the South African landscape as an aid to colonisers is its celebration of the 'in-between' state of the frontier, the moment of the colonial encounter at which modernity and the primitive co-exist. It also suggests that to interpret Buchan's repeated reference to the 'thin crust of civilisation' as an outright rejection of the savagery lurking beneath is misleading. Instead he draws attention to the mutual dependency of the two states, one gaining definition from the other. For all his condemnation of *racial* hybridity, cultural hybridity or rather the inter-relationship between civilisation and its primitive underpinnings hold an evident fascination for Buchan, one, as his parallel with the Ettrick forest demonstrates, which

[69] See Christopher Harvie's essay 'Sacred Lambencies and Thin Crusts: Scottish Writers, Industrialisation and Anomie' in *Cultural Values*, April 1999, vol. 3, issue 2, 196-212, for the most detailed discussion of this theme currently available.

is closely related to his Scottish identity. The possible benefits of hybridity, albeit according to strictly defined rules, would be celebrated in a speech he gave in 1937:

> To-day there is far too much talk in Europe about race and the necessity of keeping race stocks pure. That talk is grossly unscientific and grossly unhistorical. The strongest people have always been a mingling of races, but they are only strong if that mingling is conducted in the proper way. And that way is that each accepts and appreciates the qualities of the other, that each learns from the other, and that while they cherish their own special loyalties they cherish no less that new loyalty and tradition which springs from their union.[70]

*A Lodge in the Wilderness* (1906), further suggests the dualism that affected Buchan's thinking on Empire.[71] It describes the meeting of a colloquium consisting of both imaginary and thinly disguised real-life personalities on the estate of Francis Carey, thought to be based on Cecil Rhodes. The pastoral setting of a lodge decorated with the trophies of hunting reinforces the aristocratic status of the inhabitants creating the impression of the Empire as facilitating a return to a strictly hierarchical society, a process described by Benedict Anderson as a means by which those who felt threatened by the rising lower orders could return to the genteel ways of the aristocracy through the cause of Empire.[72] The reasons behind the desire for such a return are suggested by Sir Edward Considine, 'An Explorer and noted Big-game Hunter'. While sitting round the campfire he talks about attending a ball with his wife where:

> the noise round about me was just like the jabbering of monkeys in a Malayan forest. None of the people looked you squarely in the eyes, and the women all had faces like marionettes [...].Two fellows were standing near me - one was in the Cabinet and the other was a tremendous legal swell [...]. One of the two came up and spoke to me afterwards, and said he supposed the scene must be a pleasant change to me after the Congo. I told him it wasn't much of a change, only the monkeys were caged instead of running wild on the tree-tops.

[70] Canada Club, Halifax, 8 June 1937. Accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 312.
[71] John Buchan, *A Lodge in the Wilderness*, 1906 (London: Nelson, 1922).
[72] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 'Official Nationalism and Imperialism', pp.83-111.

> He laughed as if I had said something funny [....] they would have shrieked in holy horror if I had told them that they represented not the last word in civilization but a return to a very early stage of barbarism. The rough fellow clearing trees with an axe for his home was miles farther up the scale than they. (*ALW*, 133-134)

Such a description, one that bears a close comparison with the decadent night-club scene of *The Three Hostages,* suggests a questioning of the benefits of 'progress', a cyclical vision of history that regards the supposed benefits of modernity with suspicion. On the subject of the native question Francis Carey states:

> Your business, on which everything else depends, is the wise management of the native peoples who live about you. For every white man there are forty or fifty natives, and yet in your hands lies the administration and on your head is the responsibility for the future of the country. You have to fight against ignorance, stupidity and barbarism. So has all the world; but you have the tremendous advantage that you have your foes in concrete shape before your eyes and know exactly what you have to get to grips with. *In England we have the same enemies but we cannot see them.* (*ALW*, 180) [my emphasis]

This continues the highly paternalistic attitude Buchan displays towards the native African population in *The African Colony.* It also demonstrates how the imperial frontier could be used as a way of making distinct the division between good and evil, savage and civilised, according to a strict hierarchy of race. Yet the need to do so stems from a deep-rooted fear at the possibility of the degeneration of the Old Country. As with Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham, Buchan questions the definitions applied to civilisation and savagery, revealing the 'heart of darkness' that resides within British society. The central difference between the three writers is that Buchan regards imperialism as a means of starting anew, of regaining the possibility of a linear progression towards a rejuvenated society. Stevenson and Graham, however, to varying degrees regarded British colonisation as maintaining a cycle of oppression, temporary rule and eventual decline. Rather than starting anew, colonisation

simply recreated the aspects of modern life Considine is attempting to escape. The drive to escape the elements of civilisation they hope to spread about the world is reinforced in *A Lodge in the Wilderness* by the 'Boy's Own' frontier adventure, on this occasion a lion hunt, that contrasts with the feminine domesticity of the lodge. Although *A Lodge in the Wilderness* features a number of female characters, during the fireside chat following the lion hunt the reader gains a sense glimpsing the heart of Empire, a place from which women are excluded (*ALW*, 126). Considine admits that adventurers are 'devilish unsatisfactory people to our wives and families, I know, but still, we don't rust' (*ALW*, 132) and it is telling that his wife is mentioned only in relation to the terrible ball he attends (*ALW*, 133) suggesting the inhibiting nature of domestic responsibilities. As Jeffrey Richards states:

> In a very real sense the Victorian male was *puer aeternus*, the boy who never grew up. It was not just the all-male society in which he functioned, it was also his preferred activities (hunting, empire-building, exploring, warring.) It was the century which saw the invention of the boys' fiction and a rich tradition of tales of adventure.[73]

Through the mouthpiece of Edward Considine it becomes clear that Buchan had a very different interpretation of the ends to which the genre of adventure romance could be put, far closer to the 'energising myths of Empire' as described by Martin Green than the novels of Stevenson. Attempting to describe the impulse that turns a nation into an Empire the big game hunter suggests:

> 'And I,' said Considine, 'call it romance. I have no head for political theories, but I have an eye for a fact. It is the impulse to deeds rather than talk, the ardour of a race which is renewing its youth. It is what made the Elizabethans, and all ages of adventure'.(*ALW*, 35)

[73] Jeffrey Richards 'Passing the love of women': Manly love and Victorian society' in J. A. Mangan & James Walvin (eds.) *Manliness and Morality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.92-122 (p.106).

In the discussion around the campfire, a location significant in itself as it suggests a return to the primitive roots of storytelling, Considine does away with political complexities and reveals the near atavistic drive that empowers many imperialists when he speaks of the role of the imperial adventurer:

> 'True for you. He is the electric force in civilization. Without him we should settle, like Moab, on our lees and rot. And you cannot measure him by ordinary results, because his work is spiritual and unworldly. Raleigh failed in everything he put his had to, and went to the scaffold with all his schemes discredited. And yet he had set moving the force which was to make his dreams a superb reality. The pioneer must always be ploughed under, but only the fool considers him a failure. That Nietzsche fellow Appin was chaffing me about the other night has got the right end of the stick. The individual is tremendously important...Take the case of Gordon. You may tell me that he was mad and a fanatic, that he ran his own head into the noose, that he had flaws in his character, that he was impossible as a colleague or a subordinate. I daresay that is all true, and I don't care. His failure and the manner of it were worth a dozen successful wars and a whole regiment of impeccable statesmen. It put new faith into the race, and screwed us up for another century'. (*ALW*, 136-137)

This passage demonstrates in striking fashion Buchan's reinterpretation of the primitive cycles of myth revealed in the work of J. G. Frazer, using them as justification for the development of Empire. Writing on *Witch Wood* Cairns Craig suggests that in keeping with Frazer it is:

> an anti-historical novel, precisely to the extent that it perceives history to be the product of the continual eruption into the present of forces from the depths of the past in defiance of history's progressive development.[74]

In sharp contrast Gordon becomes the sacrificial priest king whose death ensures the continuation of the imperial spirit, the 'primitive forces from the depths of the past' emerging

[74] Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel* p.143.

in order to justify 'history's progressive development'. Robert H. MacDonald writing on the phenomenon of imperial hero worship notes:

> As Roland Barthes puts it, this process by which ideology becomes myth 'transforms history into nature', making abstractions that might otherwise be difficult to think about or accept or that in their essence are political, 'innocent' or natural.[75]

Yet the identification of atavistic impulses lurking at the root of the Empire was not unproblematical. David Daniell draws attention to the anecdote told by Mrs Yorke relating the secret life of a respected lawyer, Sir Charles Weston, which is described as 'an allegory and true of us all' (*ALW*, 243). An 'earnest Liberal'(*ALW*, 243), described as having a face 'like an old woman's' whose talk was 'one mosaic of moral and political platitudes'(*ALW*, 244), it is discovered on his death that Weston led a double life, if only in his imagination. Beside a thirty volume diary recording his day-to-day life is found a smaller diary which reveals his hidden life as John Chrysaor, Emperor of Byzantium, blood-thirsty and sexually rapacious. Daniell states:

> The effect of the parallelism is curiously disturbing[...].The frontier between realism and romance is here with a vengeance[...]....it has nothing whatsoever to do with Africa, and as a comment on Imperialism it is impossible. It is a novelist's tribute to the necessity for romance, and it has two powerful ingredients: the first is the call of the wild, impossible dream, otherwise so missing from the high-mindedness of Musuru; the second is the true Celtic that the dream *is* possible.[76]

As this thesis has tried to demonstrate in sharp contrast to Daniell's statement, one of the peculiarities of the imperialist cause of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was many of the fiction writers associated were very aware of the peculiar combination of high-

[75] Robert H. MacDonald, p.5.
[76] David Daniell, pp. 107-109.

minded theory and what were considered far older, more primitive impulses driving forward the control of other lands. As demonstrated by Considine's remarks on General Gordon it is impossible to separate the wild romance associated with such a figure and the political ramifications of his actions. After a debate on India in the House of Commons Weston comments:

> Do these vain people who prate about the prestige of Britain ever reflect, I wonder, on the shallow foundations of their creed? We have taken upon ourselves responsibilities which carry with them no increase in moral stature - nay, which minister to the lowest and most depraved elements in our nature. We claim a right to rule certain dark-skinned peoples, thereby offending against the oldest and most indisputable of human rights - the right to liberty.(*ALW*, 247-248)

In the parallel entry for June 10th and in violent contrast his alter ego Chrysaor celebrates the results of plunder and conquest: 'Tomorrow at dawn five thousand captives, with the Cross branded on their shoulders, shall be sent to New Rome as the first-fruits of my victory' (*ALW*, 248). It could be said that with this anecdote Buchan is making a sly political point, suggesting that even within the most ardent opponent of the British Empire there lurks a rampant imperialist. The colonising impulse appears to stem from an older and more authentic part of the human psyche. Those who chose to repress that impulse are weak-hearted hypocrites. Yet a more complex interpretation is suggested by the reaction of those who are told the story. Rather than any clear moral being gained the discussion following the strange anecdote is curiously muted, the best explanation offered being the unconvincing 'we are such very composite creatures that [...] we should be very shy of dogmatizing on each other's nature' (*ALW*, 252). Daniell's reference to the 'Celtic dream' suggests the Scottish provenance of Weston/Chrysaor. The description of Chrysaor as a '*revenant* from the splendid past' within the story of a respectable man who 'lived a double life' (*ALW*, 246) inevitably displays the influence of *Jekyll and Hyde* and so suggests a peculiarly Scottish concept of the savage existing beneath the skin of respected representatives of civilisation, one

*necessitating* the presence of the other. Buchan implies one of the central ironies of the drive to Empire, that it cannot exist without the very forces it seeks to tame. Faced with the 'hybrid' nature of the creed they adhere to the imperialists of *A Lodge in the Wilderness* fall silent.

## II

Studying Buchan's popular novels reveals the way in which popular fiction both reflected and reinforced the prevailing dominant hegemony of the time. Although Buchan claimed his fiction was a break from his life as politician, lawyer, journalist and propagandist, inevitably these various interests feed into the novels showing him to be keenly aware of the issues of the day, lending them an immediacy that obviously appealed to the general reader of the time, an appeal which remains today. As Alan Massie states, the stories of Richard Hannay, Dickson McCunn and Edward Leithen are 'as full of social and literary references as an egg is of protein'.[77] Buchan's 'shockers' can be regarded as the interwar stage of the genre of the imperial adventure. Jeffrey Richards notes that writers of popular imperial fiction supplied both a 'form of social control' advocating such virtues as 'sportsmanship, chivalry and patriotism' and 'held a mirror up to widely held popular views'.[78] Buchan as revealed in his essay 'The Novel and the Fairy Tale' thought that for fiction to be truly successful the storyteller should have, 'a dominant purpose, a lesson, if you like, to teach, a creed to suggest'.[79] Buchan's 'dominant purpose' was to promote the strength and continued vitality of the British Empire as it made the transition towards becoming the Commonwealth and to impart a brand of social imperialism. This was a message so closely linked as to be indivisible

[77] Alan Massie, 'Buchan's Testament: Notes on *Mr Standfast*'' in *New Edinburgh Review*, Spring 1979, pp.23-26 (p.23).
[78] Jeffrey Richards in (ed), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester University Press, Manchester: 1989), pp.1-2.
[79] John Buchan, 'The Novel and the Fairy Tale', The English Association Pamphlet, No.79, July 1931, p.7.

from Buchan's Protestant faith. One of the strongest literary influences on Buchan was John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Roger Sharrock in his introduction to the Penguin edition of 1981 makes clear the way in which the story of 'the adventurous journey of the armed and vigilant Christian through a hostile country' was put into the service of the imperial ideal of the late nineteenth century, thereby suggesting the continued relevance its sternly Protestant theme of the personal quest for enlightenment would have for Buchan.[80] *Pilgrim's Progress* was used to promote a brand of muscular Christianity in which movement carries with it a moral imperative. Daniell indicates the close inter-dependency between the myths of Empire and the imperial process itself.

> The physical activities out in the territories are one with religion and moral truths very close to home. Each - Livingstone's explorations as a missionary, and *Pilgrim's Progress* - was a metaphor of the other.[81]

The allegorical nature of the book allows for its wider translation, it is suggested, to other cultures, the simplification necessary in myth being better suited to the understanding of non-Western, more primitive cultures.[82] Jack Zipes, writing on the fairy tale, illustrates the close proximity between the 'primitive' use of storytelling and the kind of uses to which Buchan put his novels:

> The emphasis in most folk tales was on communal harmony. A narrator or group of narrators told tales to bring members of a group or tribe closer together and to provide them with a sense of mission, a telos. The tales themselves assumed a generic quality based on the function that they were to fulfill for the

[80] Roger Sharrock 'Introduction' to John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (London: Penguin, 1981), p. 12. Sharrock also states: 'The *Pilgrim's Progress* is a book which in the three hundred years of its existence has crossed most of those barriers of race and culture that usually serve to limit the communicative power of a classic. It has penetrated into the non-Christian world; it has been read by cultivated Moslems during the rise of religious individualism within Islam, and at the same time in cheap missionary editions by American Indians and South Sea Islanders' (p.7).

[81] David Daniell, 'John Buchan and the Popular Literature of Imperialism' in Bart Moore-Gilbert (ed.) *Literature and Imperialism* (Roehampton Institute of Higher Education, 1983), pp.118-134. (p.121).

[82] David Daniell in *The Interpreter's House* notes this in reference to Buchan's early fiction and his use of the 'cumulative episode [...] learned [...] from Bunyan, and probably Defoe. In each case there is a surface of apparent artlessness, almost primitivism, which is intentionally very deceptive' (p.36).

> community or the incidents that they were to report, describe, explain.[83]

This highlights one of the central differences between the Stevensonian romance and that of Buchan. While Stevenson questioned the validity of the concept of 'truth' and therefore treated any political theory with scepticism, due to his religious belief Buchan held to the one truth, the one *narrative* of the Protestant faith and, through close association, imperialism. While Stevenson employs unreliable narrators, such as McKellar in *The Master of Ballantrae* or Clara Luxmore in *The Dynamiter* or, as is the case with David Balfour, one who has a limited perspective on events and causes us to be aware of the narratives conflicting and co-existing with his own, such playfulness is rarely to be found in the work of Buchan. To have done so would have been to introduce a morally charged relativism by questioning the authority of *one* narrative, *one* truth. This accounts for Buchan's suspicion of Stevenson's style; Buchan appears to object to Stevenson's desire to draw attention to itself, thereby unsettling the contract between reader and author that what is being told is 'true'.[84] Significantly, Stevensonian ambiguity does appear strongly in *Witch Wood,* the novel which conveys the deepest sense of Buchan's engagement with Scotland to be found within his body of work.

The popularity of his novels and their literary value challenges the impression granted by historians and literary critics that the First World War resulted in widespread disillusionment with the imperial ideal. Buchan reveals this was most certainly not the case, but rather the creed of imperialism had become modified to better suit the changing climate. He also serves to demonstrate that far from there being a complete break between the implicitly anti-imperial work of modernist writers like Eliot, Woolf and Forster and their imperially-minded precursors there was a shared interest and concern with the apparent rising

[83] Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tale as Myth/Myth as Fairy Tale* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1994), p.10.
[84] John Buchan, *Memory Hold-the-Door*, p.43.

barbarisms of the twenties and thirties. By positioning Buchan in such a way it becomes easy to agree with Richard Price who, on commenting on this 'still much-maligned writer', asks:

> Is there a case for re-considering Buchan as one who straddled the uneasy region between popular genre fiction and 'high' literature, a literary border country that is certainly one characteristic of many a Scottish novel?[85]

The popularity of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* marked a turning point in Buchan's literary career, one that enabled him to combine the pleasant relaxation of writing his 'shockers' with great financial success. Published in 1915, the novella was written at a difficult time in its author's life. Aged thirty-eight in 1914 Buchan was too old to see active service and it has been suggested the combined effects of overwork and poor health resulted in a nervous breakdown, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*[86] playing an important role in his subsequent recovery. Close examination of the *Steps* reveals the subtlety with which Buchan was able to produce enjoyable propaganda for Britain and for the Empire by quietly subverting, although in no way approaching the radicalism of Stevenson, certain tropes associated with the imperial adventure story. Within the novella he effectively reverses the message he provided in many speeches that emigration to the wilder parts of the Empire would provide a means of rejuvenating Britain. Rather than, as Kate Macdonald points out, a familiar hero travelling to a strange land, Buchan places an exotic stranger in a land familiar to the reader.[87] In a manner similar to Stevenson in *Kidnapped*, Buchan employs a narrator who *de*familiarises the Scottish landscape in order to allow the readers to *re*familiarise themselves with it. In the process Hannay, the colonial hero, gains an appreciation of the Old Country, referring to it as '*my* country' [my emphasis] (*TNS*, 81) towards the end of his adventures, a statement of

[85] Richard Price, 'Discovery' in W. N. Herbert and Richard Price (eds.), *Gairfish Discovery* (Bridge of Weir: 1991), i-iv (p.i).
[86] John Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, Kate Macdonald (ed.), 1915 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
[87] Kate Macdonald, *The Fiction of John Buchan with Particular Reference to the Richard Hannay Novels*, Ph.D. Thesis, University College London, 1991, p.38.

British patriotism that he would never have contemplated at the beginning of the story while enduring the boredom of London.

As Christopher Harvie points out there is no real need for Hannay to escape away to the Scottish borders.[88] If anything he increases the risk of capture as he could be easily spotted in the empty landscape by the enemy's plane.[89] However, this is to ignore the extent to which, as Kate Macdonald points out, the plot depends on Hannay's colonial status.[90] Although in later years Hannay would become a respectable member of the British establishment it is important to remember Buchan's decision to have a colonial hero saving Britain from a plot against it at the beginning of the First World War was an enlightened, near radical approach. Ronald Hyam notes:

> Contempt for colonials was so great that there was never the slightest intention of admitting them to the seats of power between 1905 and 1915.[...] It was widely rumoured that colonials wanted to take charge of the empire, and what could be more absurd than that?[91]

Hannay's knowledge of 'veldtcraft' enables him to evade the clutches of the enemy and this skill, combined with his Scottish upbringing, means Scotland is the only region of Britain that could guarantee his ability to do so.

Hannay's method of convincing Sir Harry of the truth of his story by performing the 'old Mashona trick' (*TNS*, 46) - throwing a large knife into the air and catching it between his teeth - reveals his culturally hybridised nature. He is able to move within high society and yet can display the exotic, primitive skills of African tribes. However, Buchan ensures that his white South African hero is racially correct and without any hint of possible Boer ancestry.

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[88] Christopher Harvie, 'Second Thoughts of a Scotsman on the Make' (p.38).

[89] This takes on an added irony in view of Buchan's later comments in Parliament on the potential benefits of using the R.A.F. to monitor certain remote areas of the Empire: 'The Air Force provides a real means of undertaking the guardianship of savage frontiers and of policing remote uncivilised countries, thereby displacing much more expensive military garrisons and a certain type of naval craft'. *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 214, 12 March 1928, col 1576.

[90] Kate Macdonald, p.127.

[91] Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815 - 1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London: B.T.Batsford, 1976), p.110.

His Scottish childhood enables him to feel at home in the landscape and so emphasises the point Buchan would make repeatedly in speeches that in order for the colony to be successful it should maintain close cultural links with the Mother Country. Yet by having as the central hero a figure that, as Kate Macdonald suggests, would have been sidelined due to his colonial exoticism to the role of faithful sidekick in other previous adventure tales, Buchan also serves to conceal the racial and economic exploitation at the heart of the Empire.[92] As a mining engineer in Rhodesia Hannay would undoubtedly have been responsible for the exploitation of native African labour (*TNS*, 66). His knowledge of how to survive on the veldt was put to the test when active in the Matabele uprising, a war engineered by Cecil Rhodes who sought to expand the territory for the British South Africa Company.[93] Although portrayed, at first, as an outsider, Hannay is firmly an insider to the system of economic exploitation brought about by the Empire.

In noting the differences between *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and *Kidnapped* it becomes clear that Buchan adapts the romance genre, effectively subverted by Stevenson, to his own ideological purposes. The train decorating the front of both the Oxford World's Classics and the Wordsworth Classics editions[94] of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* can be read as not only referring to Hannay's means of travelling to and from Scotland but also works as an entirely appropriate symbol for his travels on foot across the rough terrain of the Galloway landscape. Although he runs the continual risk of being captured and undergoes instances of physical hardship - the wait in the dovecote following his escape, as Harvie notes in the Oxford World's Classics edition (*TNS*, 117), offering a clear parallel to Alan and David's experience on the rock - there is very little doubt that Hannay will be able to achieve his aim. A significant factor in regarding Buchan's work as being an important contribution to propagandising the Empire is the narrative drive of his fiction which sees his protagonists overcoming any obstacle placed in their path. As James Cawelti points out, in Buchan's work everything bows

[92] Kate Macdonald, p.44.
[93] Robert H. Macdonald, 'The Invention of Rhodesia' in *The Language of Empire*, pp.113-143.
[94] John Buchan, *The Thirty-nine Steps*, Christopher Harvie (ed.), 1915 (London: Wordsworth Editions, 1993).

to the over-arching narrative.[95] It could be argued that one of the aims of the Modernist agenda was a structural as well as moral uncertainty, questioning the validity of the idea of there being one objective truth rather than an individual's subjective experience. Hannay's ability to emerge from every life-threatening situation, to carry on until his goal is achieved despite insurmountable odds, suggests that there is some higher authority on his side. The Empire cannot fail because it is a force for good, and fate is on the side of the British.

Despite having spent his adult life in South Africa Hannay is far more competent in his ability to negotiate the obstacles thrown up by an unfamiliar terrain than his literary counterpart David Balfour. Indeed, he displays a far greater level of identification with the Scots than David whose 'Scottishness' it could be argued is more 'authentic' than his literary offspring's. While in David's case knowledge resides with the wild, colonial Other, the Lowland hero constantly bemused by the ways of his fellow country men, Hannay as the colonial Other has the ability to become one with the landscape and with the people, demonstrated by his ease in disguising himself as a Scots roadman (*TNS*, 51-52). In contrast to Cunninghame Graham and Stevenson, who reveal the folly of believing the imperial hero's ability to easily disguise himself and so infiltrate the exotic, Buchan promotes the sense of the 'all-seeing I/Eye' status of the, in this case, *colonial* hero. Although Hannay begins as an outsider, his colonial standing lending an ambiguity to questions of both race and class, he demonstrates the skills and authority that will enable him to be accepted by the ruling imperial elite, thereby becoming the 'insider' of the later novels.

Hannay's adventures are therefore far closer to the concept of the novel as a means of 'narrating the nation' as outlined by Stevenson in his essay 'A Gossip on Romance' than Stevenson's own work.[96] *Kidnapped* suggests the heterogeneous nature of Scotland, a land

[95] John Cawelti, 'The Joys of Buchaneering' in Joseph J. Waldmeir (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Russell B. Nye* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press), pp. 7-30. Cawelti suggests: 'The way in which Hannay's seemingly random flight leads him unerringly to a direct confrontation with the enemy is a sign of Hannay's instrumentality as the agent of some higher moral power' (p.16).

[96] That Buchan was well aware of Stevenson's theory of literature proposed in 'A Gossip on Romance' is demonstrated by his comparison between *Robinson Crusoe* and *The Swiss Family Robinson*, near identical to that of Stevenson's: 'Young people are gluttons for details and have an acute sense of what is fit and proper in that respect. They know that Robinson Crusoe found just the right number of things at the wreck to

so various as to result in a Scot experiencing the uncanny sensation of being a stranger in his own land and thus questioning the validity of Britain's ability to subsume other lands. In contrast, Hannay's travels act as a means of drawing together supposedly disparate elements of British society into a common aim - that of resisting invasion by a foreign Other, a theme that recurs in *Huntingtower*. While *Kidnapped* contains a wide range of registers suggesting the different voices that could contribute several alternative narratives outside David Balfour's, *The Thirty-Nine Steps* disallows such openendedness by being mediated entirely through the controlling perspective of Hannay. When a voice seeking to challenge the central message of the text, that of defending Britain's imperial interests, is introduced it is quickly used to reinforce that message. In 'The Adventure of the Radical Candidate' Sir Harry, who provides Hannay with a means of escaping the attentions of the Black Stone gang, gives a speech of 'the most appalling rot'(*TNS*, 44):

> He talked about the 'German menace', and said it was all a Tory invention to cheat the poor out of their rights and keep back the great flood of social reform, but that 'organized labour' realized this and laughed the Tories to scorn.
>
> He was all for reducing our Navy as proof of our good faith, and then sending Germany an ultimatum telling her to do the same or we would knock her into a cocked hat. He said that, but for the Tories, Germany and Britain would be fellow-workers in peace and reform. I thought of the little black book in my pocket! A giddy lot Scudder's friends cared for peace and reform. (*TNS*, 44)

Buchan may have considered the context in which *The Thirty-Nine Steps* was read on its publication, the First World War a year in, would have been refutation enough for the socialist-like message outlined above. Yet the narrative itself and the authority of the narrator's voice ensures, it is supposed, that the reader will have little sympathy with Sir Harry's attack on the nationalistic aggrandisement ultimately responsible for the outbreak of war. Having followed Hannay's adventures, witnessing the evil he is attempting to foil at first

satisfy the imagination, while they remember that that fearsome household, the Swiss Family Robinson, found so much that every scrap of interest goes out of the tale'. John Buchan, 'The Novel and the Fairy Tale', p.13.

hand, the reader has experienced the decisive counter argument to Sir Harry's call for appeasement. By having a Colonial who at the beginning of the story seems to have little interest in the political situation affecting the Old Country arriving at a Tory perspective through his adventures Buchan naturalizes, in the sense of transmuting a political perspective into that of 'common sense', a conservative ideological agenda. Michael Young states in relation to *John Macnab*:

> Foregrounding the artificiality does not undermine the game but controls the kind of attention the reader gives to it. The deliberate highlighting of melodramatic signals limits, reminding us that this is 'only' a game, and thus attempting to anesthetize the reader to receive the text's ideological effect less critically.[97]

The same technique can be seen in *The Thirty-Nine Steps* when Hannay has the 'literary innkeeper' exclaim on being told of his predicament, '"By God!" he whispered, drawing his breath in sharply, "it is all pure Rider Haggard and Conan Doyle"' (*TNS*, 33). By signalling to the reader the artificiality of Hannay's adventure by firmly placing the novella within the adventure tradition Buchan is able, as Young suggests, to draw attention away from the ideological intentions behind the work.

The ability to miss this propagandising aspect of Buchan's work comes about through his admirable willingness to display sympathy for the 'other side'. Despite the scorn he has poured on Sir Harry, Hannay comments, 'Yet in a queer way I liked the speech. You could see the niceness of the chap shining out behind the muck he had been spoon-fed' (*TNS*, 44). This is a double-edged compliment that suggests a limited openness to different perspectives, a viewpoint supported in a speech Buchan would give in 1932:

> We want to understand their point of view. That does not mean necessarily that we should share it, for the point of view may be

[97] Michael Young, 'The Rules of the Game: Buchan's *John Macnab*' in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 24, 1989, pp. 194-211. (p.196).

> wrong, but if we have to fight it we shall fight it all the better for understanding it.[98]

Understanding the 'Other' is necessary only in order to combat it. Buchan's belief in there being one Truth is therefore linked to his literary technique and the message his popular novels contain. Kate Macdonald, when comparing the narrative of *Treasure Island* with those of the Hannay novels, suggests that Stevenson displays a 'less sophisticated' skill at narrative technique by 'not giving the reader a steady point of reference in a single narrator'.[99] Yet this unsettling of the reader emulates the growing maturity of Jim Hawkins as he begins to realise the moral ambiguities of the adult world. Within Hannay's world, although, as will be shown later, there are moment of grey uncertainty when the division between good and evil becomes less easy to define, moral ambiguity, the possibility of different perspectives on the 'truth', is largely disallowed.

In the novella Scotland still occupies a somewhat 'uncanny' or, more appropriately, ambiguous position in relationship to the Empire, its landscape frequently described in terms that emphasise its close resemblance to the colonial landscape of South Africa, culturally very different from the imperial centre of London. Although London is where the true power lies in the form of the police and politicians, Hannay's experiences in Scotland are vital to his ability to recognise the evil mastermind behind the Black Stone. As described above, this is far from the uncanny as a state of terror as defined in *The Watcher by the Threshold* but Buchan, happily settled in England, continues to revel in Scotland's 'otherness', placing the country as an integral, vital part of Britain and the Empire. Hannay enjoys himself thoroughly, munching on ginger biscuits (*TNS*, 56) and evading capture by using the veldtcraft he learnt in South Africa. At thirty-seven he makes frequent reference to the fact he feels like a boy again (*TNS*, 27, 28). It is important to note that this transformation comes about not through a close involvement with the 'centre' of Empire, the political powerhouse of London, but rather

[98] The Bryce Dinner, Oxford, May 29 1932. Accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 312. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[99] Kate Macdonald, p.137.

through his experiences of the 'periphery', gaining an appreciation of the Scottish people and landscape. In the process Scotland is placed within its international context as Buchan suggests when he has Hannay realise after decoding Scudder's notebook and discovering the diabolical plan of the Black Stone Gang: 'This was the story I had been deciphering in a dark room of a country inn, overlooking a cabbage garden'(*TNS*, 39). This reference to the Kailyard skilfully combines the parochial and the world of politics beyond, affirming Scotland as a locus for international intrigue. The decision to write a story that centres on the land of his childhood suggests the psychological benefits to be gained from a return to that 'uncivilised' state, a sojourn that would result in a greater ability to deal with the troubles of the 'civilised' world. Daniell makes the important point that:

> it is not for nothing that Buchan puts Hannay in Border country [...]. The point is precisely that of the terrible difficulty of knowing which side of the frontier you are on. Extreme Calvinism...can lead to perpetual picking at the fact of salvation, to check if it is still working; or worse, eternally calculating whether someone is saint or devil. How can you know? the Devil is the born master of disguises.[100]

Although the native Scots Hannay encounters all provide willing assistance to the man on the run, clearly on the side of good, the Borders, due to Hannay's predicament, represent a state of moral confusion. As Norman Etherington suggests, Buchan's heroes, with their culturally hybridised background and shape-shifting aptitude for disguise, frequently bear a close resemblance to the enemies they seek to destroy.[101] Despite his innocence for much of his adventure Hannay is considered a criminal, on the run from both the Black Stone gang and the forces of law and order. The white Colonial is treated in the way the native races were treated in South Africa, monitored and considered outlaws in their own land.

[100] David Daniell, 'The Scottishness of '*The Thirty-Nine Steps*', *Gairfish Discovery*, 4-15 (pp. 12-13).
[101] Norman Etherington, 'Buchan, Imperialism and Psychoanalysis' in *The John Buchan Journal*, Autumn 1986, no.6, pp.17-24 (p.24).

Significantly, however, the scene which captures this sense of uncertainty and emphasises the need for constant vigilance does not take place in the Scottish Border landscape but rather in suburban England. Buchan makes the point, in a manner that emulates Stevenson, that the frontier cannot be defined in geographically distant terms, that the trappings of civilisation can provide better cover for the forces of barbarism than wild, uncivilised regions. In a neat twist worthy of Stevenson's *The Dynamiter*, the supposedly innocent bridge-playing suburbanites come very close to fooling Hannay who loses his bearings in an urban area in which the division between the hunter and the hunted is less easy to define than it was on the frontier-like territory of the Scottish landscape. Hannay experiences the uncanny shock of the familiar experienced when he realises the patriotism of the man he has been hunting bears a close resemblance to his own newly-discovered love of Britain (*TNS*, 111). Yet, unlike the ambiguous worlds of Cunninghame Graham and Stevenson in which the reader can never be sure of the moral authority of the perspective being granted, Buchan's adherence to the binarisms of myth and imperial fairy tale ensure such ambiguity, on this occasion, is ultimately resolved.

In *Greenmantle*, the sequel to *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, Buchan expands Hannay's world by introducing a number of characters who will make repeated appearances in the series. Occasionally these characters will be referred to or make appearances in the Dickson McCunn and Edward Leithen novels.[102] Buchan's experience of the War may have resulted in the realisation that the image of the battling lone hero would have to be redefined for the brutally mechanised realities of modern warfare hence the appearance of Sandy Arbuthnot, Peter Pienaar, the Boer briefly mentioned in *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and the American John Scantlebury Blenkiron. The co-operation of Blenkiron is of significance in that it indicates the belief Buchan would develop in the wake of the First World War that world peace could be secured through the co-operation of Britain and the United States. A significant feature of the

[102] For example, in *Sick Heart River* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), mention is made of Archie Roylance (who appears in *Mr Standfast*, *John Macnab* and *Huntingtower*), Richard Hannay and Blenkiron (pp. 5, 9, 10).

intertextual club world Buchan creates is therefore its international scope, contributing the sense of an enclosed stable society. At a time of extreme disruption this could only provide comfort to its readers. However, while Buchan opens up the definitions of clubbability, with the typical aristocratic English public school type the reader might expect to find in a novel notable only by his absence, a certain exclusivity of belonging remains. In the terms of Buchan's support for the British Empire it *has* to maintain this exclusivity. While international in scope, with surprisingly flexible rules of who could belong, Buchan could not afford to allow the degree of relativism found in the work of Cunninghame Graham and Stevenson as this would inevitably lead to a questioning of the assumed national superiority of Britain.

*The Thirty-Nine Steps* largely avoids the virulently anti-German sentiment that was frequently a feature of other invasion-themed thrillers. *Greenmantle* differs significantly from the earlier novella not only through the introduction of several other character narratives, but also through its wider international context. Hannay travels into the heart of enemy territory, moving through Germany to Turkey on a mission to discover more information about the mysterious Greenmantle. *Greenmantle*, through its depiction of the Germans, offers an intriguing perspective on Buchan's skill at propaganda, noteworthy for its mix of unquestioning prejudice and daring sympathy. As previously mentioned, Gertrude Himmelfarb defends Buchan's racism by drawing attention to the prevalence of racist rhetoric within British society and further afield in the language of colonial rule. Bearing in mind Buchan's position within the upper echelons of British society at a time when racism was an intrinsic part of the dominant hegemony he would have been an extreme anomaly had he displayed strongly anti-racist sentiment. However, as the examples of both Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham demonstrate, through their willingness to accept the equality of the races, to absolve Buchan of his unthinking bigotry comes dangerously close to reaffirming those views within a modern day context. Furthermore to simply pass over latter day attitudes found justifiably reprehensible today marks a failure to appreciate the complexity of racist

ideology and so neglects a central component of imperialist thought. Within *Greenmantle* Buchan displays the ability to be both unthinkingly prejudiced *and* remarkably openminded about a nation at war with Britain. This ability is typified by Hannay's thoughts while recovering from the repeated onset of malaria in a woodcutter's cottage set in a German forest. This moment of repose punctuating the headlong rush of the narrative affords the opportunity for Hannay to reflect on the nature of the war itself. At first it might appear, therefore, that the scene echoes the occasions found in the work of Cunninghame Graham and Stevenson when the traveller stops his relentless forward movement to discover points of contact with his surroundings. However, the Grimm-like surroundings of Hannay's encounter with the plight of German civilians is significant as it places the story within the timeless realm of the fairytale and so enables Buchan to naturalise the contemporary, ideological sentiment Hannay expresses:

> That night I realised the crazy folly of war. When I saw the splintered shell of Ypres and heard hideous talk of German doings, I used to want to see the whole land of the Boche given up to fire and sword. I thought we could never end the war properly without giving the Huns some of their own medicine. But that woodcutter's cottage cured me of such nightmares. I was for punishing the guilty but letting the innocent go free. It was our business to thank God and keep our hands clean from the ugly blunders to which Germany's madness had driven her. What good would it do Christian folk to burn poor little huts like this and leave children's bodies by the wayside? To be able to laugh and to be merciful are the only things that make man better than the beasts. (*G*, 99)

This is an example of what Miles Donald refers to as 'the reader's trap'.[103] In this passage Buchan offers a subtler version of the virulent anti-German sentiment being expressed in Britain. There is no question that the 'hideous talk of German doings' is anything more than rumour. Hannay's admirable demand for leniency and forgiveness is coupled with a sense of moral superiority, the suggestion that race and nationality indicates moral standing, that the

[103] Miles Donald, 'John Buchan: The Reader's Trap' in *Spy Thrillers: From Buchan to le Carré* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp.59-72.

German nation is incapable of the enlightened approach of a British colonial. Hannay does not question the existence of 'the Boche' and 'the Huns'. As Donald notes, 'The reader is able both to congratulate him/herself on compassion for Germans and to enjoy taking a step on the road to dehumanising them'.[104] By dehumanising the Other while appreciating the humanity of the 'innocent' German people he prevents himself from experiencing the uncanny realisation that the German people as a whole are perhaps not so different from the British, a recognition of the Self in the Other that would disrupt the unquestioning forward movement necessary to the war effort. Unlike the imperial frontier in which good and evil could be easily defined in terms of the frontier between the civilised and the savage, these definitions could be less easy to maintain within 'civilised' Europe and so Buchan avoids those moments when 'the reader might begin to be uneasily aware of problems that are too complex for Buchan's world[....] to accommodate'.[105]

Nevertheless, there are moments of the 'uncanny' when Hannay displays a surprising appreciation of his fiercest enemies. As in the case of the passage above, these moments of identification take place after the safe psychological distancing of 'othering' has been established. The depiction of Stumm has been defended by some who point to Buchan's description as 'the German of caricature', suggesting that Stumm was not intended to represent the true nature of the German people. Yet by referring to Stumm as 'the real German, the fellow we were up against'(*G*, 50) Buchan reveals how popular stereotypes were necessary factors in justifying the brutal conditions of war. Stumm is described in terms imbued with the language of racial hierarchy, biological determinism and phrenology:

> But it was the other man who caught my eye. He stood with his back to the fire leaning his elbows on the mantelpiece. He was a perfect mountain of a fellow, six and a half feet if he was an inch, with shoulders on him like a shorthorn bull. He was in uniform, and the black-and-white ribbon of the Iron Cross showed at the buttonhole. His tunic was all wrinkled and strained as if it could scarcely contain his huge chest, and

[104] Ibid., p.65.
[105] Ibid., p.63.

> mighty hands were clasped over his stomach. That man must have had the length of reach of a gorilla. He had a great, lazy, smiling face, with a square cleft chin which stuck out beyond the rest. His brow retreated and the stubby back of his head ran forward to meet it, while his neck below bulged out over his collar. His head was exactly the shape of a pear with the sharp end topmost. (*G*, 50)

This passage is striking in its blend of admiration and fear. The reference to 'the length of reach of a gorilla' and the retreating brow identifies Stumm as a survival, a racial throwback who is barely human. This is confirmed when Hannay later states that Stumm:

> was a man of remarkable qualities, which would have brought him to the highest distinction in the Stone Age. But for all that he and his kind were back numbers. (*G*, 83)

Yet the detail of 'the black-and-white ribbon of the Iron Cross' indicates Hannay's respect for a fellow soldier and reveals the disturbing points of similarity between himself and the enemy. The detailed description of Stumm's physique suggests the creed of manliness and physical ability so important to the ideology of the British Empire taken to a parodic extreme. Stumm *has* to be depicted as degenerate and representative of a fundamental defect of the German nation as a whole since to think otherwise would be to admit Britain's culpability in generating the imperial nationalism that led to the war. Hannay can't help admiring Stumm because his fierce patriotism, physical ability and self-control bear an eerie similarity to those virtues held dear by the British Empire:

> That large man was beginning to fascinate me, even though I hated him....[he] was an incarnation of all that makes Germany detested, and yet he wasn't altogether the ordinary German, and I couldn't help admiring him. I noticed he neither smoked or drank. His grossness was apparently not in the way of fleshly appetites. Cruelty, from all I had heard of him in the German South West, was his hobby; but there were other things in him, some of them good, and he had that kind of crazy patriotism which becomes a religion. (*G*, 67)

Stumm holds a 'queer' or rather uncanny attraction for Hannay. A repulsion/attraction dynamic is most clearly evident in the moment when Hannay takes note of the 'passion for frippery' displayed in Stumm's room: 'At first sight you would have said it was a woman's drawing room' (*G*, 79). Hannay takes this as evidence of the 'queer other side to my host, that evil side which gossip had spoken of as not unknown in the German army', thereby fixing Stumm as the sexual Other (*G*, 79). This marks the point as described by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick when the homosocial admiration Hannay displays for Stumm tips over into homosexual panic.[106] The possible ramifications of Hannay's physical admiration for Stumm are quickly denied as the 'evil' of homosexuality is firmly attributed to the *German* army not the British. As Robert H. MacDonald states: 'the discursive practices of Empire seek to construct a unity, defining any radical difference as "Other", presenting the world as "us" and "them"'.[107]

The necessity of such stereotypes, of 'othering' the enemy, paradoxically becomes all the more apparent when read alongside Buchan's appreciation of other German individuals. Miles Donald suggests that the sympathy displayed for the Kaiser stems from a snobbish belief in the intrinsic worth of the aristocracy.[108] Considering the extreme anti-German sentiment present in Britain at the time this is too crude an assessment, one that fits Buchan too easily into the role of the bigoted imperialist, thereby ignoring the complexities of his work. The description of the German Captain Zorn balances the bigotry displayed in the depiction of Stumm, albeit in terms that refer to racial hierarchy: 'That fellow gave me the best "feel" of any German I had yet met. He was a white man and I could have worked with him. I liked his stiff chin and steady blue eyes' (*G*, 47). Hannay is able to be on good terms with the engineer Gaudian because of a shared interest in the technology of Empire:

> He was one of the biggest railway engineers in the world, the man who had built the Baghdad and Syrian railways.[...] I

[106] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *The Epistemology of the Closet* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp.19-21.
[107] Robert H. Macdonald, p.15.
[108] Miles Donald, p.66.

> suppose he was about the greatest living authority on tropical construction. (*G*, 64)

Later Hannay states: 'Gaudian was clearly a good fellow, a white man and a gentleman. I could work with him, for he belonged to my own totem'(*G*, 67). In *The Three Hostages* Gaudian does work for Hannay, demonstrating the belief that certain codes associated with imperialism were regarded as being above politics or nation. This reveals the need for the racist language applied to Stumm. Both Gaudian and Hannay are fighting in order to ensure the survival of their nation and that nation's right to expand territorially. Why one nation should have a greater right than the other is something neither side could afford to question. For all his kindred feelings with Gaudian, Hannay still remarks that Germany 'produced good and bad, cads and gentlemen, but she could put a bit of the fanatic into them all' (*G*, 69). In this statement it is revealed that, paradoxically, Buchan's even-handedness rests upon prejudice which serves to provide a clear division between the Self and the Other. While at times this division weakens, revealing the unsettling possibility that the Self and the Other are in fact one and the same, the language of prejudice serves to strengthen the dividing line.

The language of racism is not applied solely to the German enemy. Even the depiction of those on the side of good is defined by the racial prejudice inherent to the British Empire. Peter Pienaar is a Boer 'prospector, transport rider, and hunter in turns, but principally a hunter' (*G*, 36), mentioned in *The Thirty-Nine Steps* as having taught Hannay his skills in veldtcraft (*TNS*, 102). Although written some twenty years after the Boer War, to have a Boer play such an essential role within the plot of *Greenmantle*, wholeheartedly fighting for the cause of Britain, is a measure of Buchan's belief in the Empire as a force for cultural and racial unity. Peter's renegade and therefore potential outsider status as 'none too good a citizen' is suggested by his 'bogus gold propositions' and his notion to stir trouble in Angola 'so that the Union government would have to step in and annex it'(*G*, 36). However, as the tactics Rhodes used to widen his domain were frequently underhand, Buchan inadvertently suggests the gap between the imperial ideal and the methods taken to ensure the continued

prosperity of the Empire. Although the imperial ethos of 'playing the game' was one Buchan held to, it was also considered important for a man to think for himself. So long as a rebellious attitude towards authority was maintained alongside loyalty to the grander plan such behaviour as Peter's could be accepted. While Peter is obviously very different from the standard British imperial hero he has been safely co-opted within the imperial scheme. It is suggested that his superior skills at hunting automatically raised him above the cause of his compatriots in the Boer War:

> When the Boer War started, Peter, like many of the very great hunters, took the British side and did most of our intelligence work in the North Transvaal. Beyers would have hanged him if he could have caught him, and there was no love lost between Peter and his own people for many a day. (*G*, 36)

Peter's commitment to the British cause is heightened by both him and Hannay adopting the disguise of anti-British Boers as they travel through Germany. The division between 'good' Boer and 'bad' serves to emphasise the importance of Peter's contribution to the British cause. Yet, when General Zorn, whom Hannay admires, remarks 'Discipline has been the weak point of you Boers, and you have suffered for it. You are no more a nation' (*G*, 46), there is good reason to believe, in light of Peter's later inability to control his tongue when drunk himself, that Buchan holds with this view. Although Peter plays a vital role in ensuring the final success of the mission, traversing enemy lines in order to get vital information to the Russians, before being sent on his 'crusade' he 'held out his hand quite simply, like a good child who is going off to bed' (*G*, 228), language that maintains a hierarchy of master and servant.

Considering the prejudice evident in *Greenmantle* it is somewhat ironic that at one point Hannay defines the weakness of the German as having 'no gift for laying himself alongside different types of men':

> In Germany only the Jew can get outside himself, and that is why, if you look into the matter, you will find that the Jew is at the back of most German enterprises. (*G*, 74-75)

This is in sharp contrast to the shape-shifting ability of Sandy Arbuthnot, one of the most intriguing of Buchan's characters, described as the 'wandering Scot carried to the pitch of genius'(*G*, 24). Sandy embodies the romance of the lone imperial adventurer whose success paradoxically rests on having little regard for national, racial or religious boundaries:

> If you struck a Mecca pilgrimage the odds are you would meet a dozen of Sandy's friends in it. In shepherd's huts in the Caucasus you will find bits of his cast-off clothing, for he has the knack of shedding garments as he goes. In caravanserais of Bokhara and Samarkand he is known, and there are shikaris in the Pamirs who will speak of him round their fires. If you were going to visit Petrograd or Rome or Cairo it would be no use asking him for introductions; if he gave them, they would lead you into strange haunts. But if Fate compelled you to go to Llasa or Yarkand or Seistan he could map out your road for you and pass the word to potent friends. (*G*, 24)

Sandy, as John Cawelti describes, epitomises 'the lure of the exotic, the dream of casting off the burden of identity like a suit of old clothes'.[109] Sandy's cosmopolitanism and fluid Self enabling his various transformations into the Other run the risk of undermining the stable, coherent certainties associated with Buchan's imperialist creed. Sandy can at times appear to have wandered in from a Stevenson novel, his travels and mercurial nature bringing to mind James Ballantrae or even, due to his feminine charms, Clara Luxmore. Hannay describes him as 'tallish, with a lean, high-boned face and a pair of brown eyes like a pretty girl' (*G*, 17). Of Sandy's ability Alan Sandison remarks:

> The unfamiliar and the remote within the actual world had to be mastered for the sake of making one's soul - in either the Puritan or the Kiplingesque sense: thus Sandy's astonishing prowess in the art of disguise, penetrating (and thereby

[109] John Cawelti, 'The Joys of Buchaneering', p.27.

> destroying) the mystery of Turkish gipsies and South American vaqueros alike.[110]

The ending of *Greenmantle*, as will be discussed later, would certainly appear to bear this assessment out as Sandy is transfigured into Greenmantle the Prophet who 'liberates' the Turks, suggesting that only a Westerner would be fitting for such a role. Just as T. E. Lawrence, on whom Sandy was based, was supposed to have 'liberated' the Arabs who were considered incapable of achieving self-determination without the leadership of a 'white man', so a Moslem prophecy becomes a means of conveying the 'true' revelation of British Protestant might. Yet it is important to bear in mind the point made by critics of the frequently unnerving similarity between Sandy's knowledge of 'strange paths' and uncanny magic and the devilish abilities of the Enemy. The potential loss of the individual Self is regarded as a particularly Western fear with the Eastern population lacking individuation, prone to the mentality of the mob. This is demonstrated by Hannay's admission of fear when surrounded by a Turkish crowd:

> It took me a moment or two to realise that we were being attacked. Every man has one special funk at the back of his head, and mine was to be the quarry of an angry crowd. I hated the thought of it - the mess, the blind struggle, the sense of unleashed passions different from those of any single blackguard. It was a dark world to me, and I don't like darkness. But in my nightmares I had never imagined anything like this. The narrow, fetid street, with the icy winds fanning the filth, the unknown tongue, the hoarse savage murmur, and my utter ignorance as to what it might all be about, made me cold to the pit of my stomach. (*G*, 129)

Fortunately they are saved by a 'tall man dressed in skins' (*G*, 131) in a scene Hannay describes as 'Fearful and sinister and uncanny'(*G*, 131). Their rescuer is later revealed as Sandy in disguise yet Hannay's description of the nature of his rescue suggests the unnerving ability of Sandy to adapt himself entirely to his surroundings, fooling even his

[110] Alan Sandison, *The Wheel of Empire*, p.165.

closest friends. Appropriately it is Sandy who is responsible for the moment which most amply demonstrates Buchan's appreciation of the ambiguous attraction of the Other in an interlude that seems strangely out of keeping with the onward rush of the novel. Having finally reached the rendez-vous point - the Garden House of Suliman the Red - Peter and Hannay are in the audience for a performance by a group of wandering players who go by the name of the Companions of the Rosy Hours. During the dance Hannay enters a trance-like, rapturous state, imagining 'the finest landscape on earth, lit by the pure clean light of morning'(*G*, 137). He describes the Companions as 'kindly wizards who had brought me into fairyland'(*G*,137). Yet the mood changes from one in which Hannay describes 'the charm of the single notes' (*G*, 137) and goes on to say:

> The Africans know it, and I remember a learned man once telling men that the Greeks had the same art. Those silver bells broke out of infinite space, so exquisite and perfect that no mortal words could have been fitted to them. That was the music, I expect, that the morning stars made when they sang together. (*G*, 137-138)

The primitive art Hannay witnesses becomes a means of stepping beyond the ordinary everyday world, journeying outside history to some deeper truth. As Cawelti notes a result of the imperialist drive was the fear that colonial peoples 'possessed some deeper insight into the meaning of life'.[111] Yet Robert H. Macdonald also notes the fearful aspect of this attraction:

> The primitive, with its hints of licence, loss of self, and the erotic, stands as the opposite to male control and male reason; it is imagined in terms of sex, death, mortality, and intuition, becoming the site of the Western unconscious, the scene of unspeakable horror, the 'heart of darkness.'[112]

It therefore comes as no surprise that following the bliss Hannay attains by 'savage' means a swift denial of the beneficial nature of the event follows:

[111] John Cawelti, p.28.
[112] Robert H. MacDonald, p.35-36.

> Slowly, very slowly, it changed.[....]. There was no mistake about the meaning now. All the daintiness and youth had fled, and passion was beating the air - terrible, savage passion, which belonged neither to day or night, life nor death, but to the half-world between them. (*G*, 138)

Once again, the source of Hannay's fear is in the in-between state created by the dancers, one that cannot be easily defined. This ambiguity later appears to be dispelled by the discovery that it was Sandy who led the dancers, suggesting that Hannay was not compromised, that he was not on the verge of going over to the Other, but rather was experiencing the performance of one of his 'own totem'. Yet it could be argued that the ambiguity still remains as Sandy's ability to adopt the 'monstrous, inhuman, devilish' (*G*, 138) ways of the Companions with such ease suggests a Dr Jekyll-like ability to recognise and access the savage within.

Any doubts about Sandy's position within the battleground between good and evil is firmly dispelled, particularly in the rousing closing chapter of the book. Buchan conveys what he regards as the sheer exhilaration of life on the battle-field in the remarkable closing passage. It is worth quoting at length as it displays a near mystical celebration of British success, one that bears an uncanny resemblance to the loss of Self Hannay attains in the Garden House of Suliman the Red:

> That was the great hour of my life, and to live through it was worth a dozen years of slavery. [...} Great God what an hour it was! There was loose shooting on our flank, but nothing to trouble us, though the gun team of some Austrian howitzer, struggling madly at a bridge, gave us a bit of a tussle. Everything flitted past me like smoke, like the mad *finale* of a dream just before waking. I knew the living movement under me, and the companionship of men, but all dimly, for at heart I was alone, grappling with the realization of a new world. I felt the shadows of the Palantken glen fading, and the great burst of light as we emerged on the wider valley. Somewhere before us was a pall of smoke seamed with red flames, and beyond the darkness of still higher hills. All the time I was dreaming, crooning daft snatches of song to myself, so happy, so deliriously happy that I dared not think. I kept muttering a kind of prayer made up of Bible words to Him who had shown me His goodness in the land of the living ... In the very front, now

> nearing the city ramparts, was one man. He was like the point of the steel spear soon to be driven home. In the clear morning air I could see that he did not wear the uniform of the invaders. He was turbaned and rode like one possessed, and against the snow I caught the dark sheen of emerald. As he rode it seemed that the fleeing Turks were stricken still, and sank by the roadside with eyes strained after his unheeding figure...
>
> Then I knew that the prophecy had been true, and that their prophet had not failed them. The long-looked for revelation had come. Greenmantle had appeared at last to a waiting people. (*G*, 271-272)

In *Days to Remember* Buchan applies the same trope to Sir Edward Allenby's capture of Jerusalem as the Western hero is transformed into the bringer of truth to an oppressed people.[113] In this manner Buchan again legitimises the cause of the British Empire by elevating it to the status of myth, fulfilling the teleology of religious prophecy. The above passage amply demonstrates the attitude to war still defined by the memory of colonial battle as described by W. J. Reader:

> This is a gentleman's view of war, war seen neither as politics nor as a manifestation of the will of God, but simply as the most testing, the most exciting, the most satisfying, the most honourable of field-sports, and field-sports, especially hunting, had for centuries made up a large part, if not the main part, of the lives of the gentlemen of England.[114]

Buchan succeeds in combining the 'manifestation of the will of God' with the exhilaration of the hunt thereby creating effective means of ensuring morale. Buchan makes the connection between Britain's imperial drive and a divine mission when he states in 1935:

> But if the Empire is a more practical thing than ever before it is also a more spiritual thing. [...] The Almighty has led us by

[113] 'For centuries there had been current an Arab prophecy that a deliverer should come from the West, and in 1898 the people of Palestine had asked if the Kaiser was indeed the man. But the prophecy foretold that such would not be the manner of his coming, for the true saviour would bear the name of a Prophet of God, and would enter Jerusalem on foot and that he would not appear till the Nile flowed into Palestine. To the peasants of Judea the prophecy now seemed to be fulfilled, for the name of the English general was in Arabic, 'The Prophet' and his men had come into the land bringing with them the waters of Egypt'. John Buchan and Henry Newbolt, *Days to Remember: The British Empire in the Great War* (London: Nelson, 1923), p.113.

[114] W. J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study In Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.33.

> strange paths to devise almost unconsciously a new type of polity which has no parallel in history.[115]

Inevitably Sandy, the traveller of 'strange paths', achieves the conversion of the savage to the civilised.

The influence of *Pilgrim's Progress*, as the title would suggest, is overt in *Mr Standfast*.[116] Written in 1919 three years after *Greenmantle*, during which time Buchan had lost many close friends through the war, the enthusiastic representation of war as a game of the earlier book is absent. The sense of invincibility surrounding Hannay and his cohorts disappears as two important characters, Peter Pienaar and the conscientious objector Launcelot Wake, are killed. Instead of the triumphalism of *Greenmantle* the close of *Mr Standfast* is resolutely downbeat as Hannay witnesses the death of Peter Pienaar in an airbattle with a German ace. Peter becomes the sacrifice necessary in order to strengthen the resolve of the cause Hannay is fighting for but rather than the Protestant faith being depicted as the powering force of the British Empire, it assists stoic endurance. One of the lessons Buchan felt could be learnt through the First World War was the importance of the cohesion of the British Empire, a cause under which disparate countries could unite. The book is dedicated to 'The Officers and Men of the South African Infantry Brigade on the Western Front' and the death of Peter, later granted the 'highest honour that can be bestowed upon a soldier of Britain' (*MS*, 331), stands as a moving tribute to the colonial soldiers who gave their lives for the British cause. That a Boer is granted a medal for a 'soldier of Britain', however, hints at the tensions that would result in the Empire beginning its transformation into the Commonwealth in the aftermath of the War. As the colonies began to develop their own forms of political nationalism, calling for greater self-determination, they began to question their relationship with Britain. After the slaughter of Europe, soldiers from South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and India might well question the assumed hierarchy of Empire, with

[115] Overseas Silver Jubilee Dinner 14 June 1935. Accession 7214, Mf., MSS. 312. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[116] John Buchan, *Mr Standfast*, William Buchan (ed.), 1919 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Britain bestowing the medals after immense sacrifice.[117] The novel ends by emphasising the importance of continuing the cause of the Commonwealth as it follows a depiction of a Britain largely at odds with itself, under threat from outside influence and largely uncertain about the cause it is fighting for. *Mr Standfast* posits the larger cause of the Empire as a means of strengthening Britain, overriding the potentially damaging, if effete, threat to society represented by the middle-class intellectuals Hannay has to endure in Biggleswick or by Scottish radicals. In keeping with Buchan's work as Minister of Information, *Mr Standfast* can be read as a propaganda exercise, one that hopes to provide reassurance in Britain's stability. Paradoxically, of course, the fact reassurance was necessary suggests that Buchan did fear for the nation's future. It begins with Hannay expressing his deep attachment to the English countryside, demonstrating the extent to which he has moved from the outsider, the colonial hero, to the insider, the patriot whose love of his country provides the justification for the slaughter of the trenches:

> Before my country had been South Africa, and when I thought of home it had been the wide sun-steeped spaces of the veldt or some scented glen of the Berg. But now I realized that I had a new home. I understood what a precious thing this little England was, how old and kindly and comforting, how wholly worth striving for. The freedom of an acre of her soil was cheaply bought by the blood of the best of us. (*MS*, 15)

Hannay's newly-discovered love of England reflects Buchan's own deep sense of attachment to his Elsfield estate. As if to balance this anglicisation in order to ensure a wider sense of Britishness as in the case of *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, Buchan must return to Scotland, a region that while under threat is wilder, more virile than the gentrified England Hannay encounters.

Buchan freely satirises those nascent modernists who, with their disregard for their own land, are presented as the antithesis to the active ethos still associated with Empire. For all

[117] Buchan displays the assumed superiority that would be challenged increasingly in the years ahead when one of the speakers at Biggleswick's Moot Hall is 'a great buck nigger who had a lot to say about "Africa for the Africans." I had a few words with him in Sesutu afterwards, and rather spoiled his visit' (*MS*, 33).

their supposed cosmopolitanism it is suggested that it is Hannay who has had the broader experience of the world:

> If you talked to them about that divine countryside, you found they didn't give a rap for it and had never been a mile beyond the village. But they admired greatly the sombre effect of a train going into Marleybone station on a rainy day. (*MS*, 29)

Rather than their arguments being based on reason, Buchan depicts the pacifist objectors as neurotically afraid of 'the world of action which they secretly dreaded'(*MS*, 31). Nevertheless, Hannay does express admiration for their cause. As in the case of Stumm once it has been established that alternative views to Hannay's central narrative are fundamentally wrong, it is possible to appreciate the positive attributes of the enemy:

> Indeed, I couldn't help liking them, and finding a sort of quality in them. I had spent three years among soldiers, and the British regular, great fellow that he is, has his faults. His discipline makes him in a funk of red-tape and any kind of superior authority. Now these people were quite honest and in a perverted way courageous. (*MS*, 31-32)

The potential Hannay sees in the residents of Biggleswick is confirmed by the character Launcelot Wake. Wake, a conscientious objector at the beginning of the novel, retains his beliefs while dying a hero's death on the Front Line following his re-education in the benefits of the active life by Hannay. It has been suggested that Wake illustrates Buchan's lack of prejudice, his ability to remain open to the argument of the opposition.[118] Yet this is a qualified acceptance, one defined according to the rules governing entry into the club-like world of Buchan's characters. Once Wake has proved himself at mountaineering, a sport closely associated with the imperialist ethos due to its spirit of conquest and emphasis on physical exertion, it is accepted that the transition has been made from being one of 'Them' to one of 'Us'. Rather than the shifting moral sands of a Stevenson novel, the reader is left in no

[118] Gertrude Himmelfarb, pp.253-254.

uncertainty which moral code - that of Wake or that of Hannay - is the *correct* one as through his control of the narrative moral authority clearly rests with Hannay.

As suggested in *Greenmantle* the First World War had led to the disappearance of geographically defined divisions between the savage and the civilised. *Mr Standfast* also echoes *The Thirty-Nine Steps* as a foreign, external threat poses an internal menace, the arch villain once again residing in comfort in a middle-class suburb. Moxon Ivery's first appearance, as 'an academic pacifist and a great god of the place' (*MS*, 29), fails to rouse Hannay's suspicion as he is 'the incarnation of the common-place'(*MS*, 38). Ivery is also described as being 'full of quotations from private conversations he had had with every sort of person - even members of the Government'(*MS*, 38). On the surface he has greater claim to being a respectable member of British society than the ex-colonial Hannay, as J. S Blenkiron describes:

> He was raised in Norfolk and there are people there who can remember his father. He was educated at Merton School and his name's in the register.[...] He was Liberal candidate for a London constitooency and he has decorated the board of every institootion formed for the amelioration of mankind....The man's the superbest actor that ever walked the earth. You can see it in his face. It isn't a face, it's a mask. He could make himself look like Shakespeare or Julius Caesar or Billy Sunday or Brigadier-General Richard Hannay if he wanted to. (*MS*, 46)

Buchan is clearly placing Ivery within the Calvinist tradition of the double self as a Dr Jekyll who grants free reign to his Mr Hyde. Although he is working for the German authorities Ivery is less a representative of national opposition than a Justified Sinner, one who considers himself beyond the everyday concerns of humanity. The threat Ivery poses runs far deeper than one of politics: rather it is one that challenges the Self through his ability to usurp the identity of others. The resemblance between the shape-shifting abilities of Ivery and Dominick Medina and those of Sandy Arbuthnot and, to a lesser extent, Richard Hannay are uncanny. This suggests that Buchan's binary oppositions of romance were ill-suited to the

modern world. Britain becomes a borderland in which it becomes increasingly difficult to know the side to which you belong. Once again Buchan reveals his concern, one shared with Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham, for what lies beyond History, the forces that exist beneath the surface of temporal concerns.

While the action of the second half of the novel takes place in Switzerland and France, following the gung-ho scope of *Greenmantle*, in the first half Buchan has returned to the domestic regions depicted in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*. His depiction of the political situation in Glasgow was of particular topical relevance at the time *Mr Standfast* was published as concerns had been raised about the potential for an armed revolution when the troops returned home. Glasgow had been the site of strike action and was considered the possible location of Bolshevik activity. Buchan has been criticised for his depiction of Andra Amos, a representative of the Glaswegian working classes, yet in light of the recent evaluations of the 'myth' of Red Clydeside it would appear that Buchan was actually closer to the spirit of the city at that time than has previously been credited.[119] Andra describes himself as a 'Border radical' (*MS*, 54) with little time for the Marxist theory or socialism, determined to 'fight the case of the workin'-man against his oppressor, should it be the Goavernment or the fatted calves they ca' Labour Members' (*MS*, 54). Amos therefore expresses a view similar to Buchan's own. When he became a Tory M. P. Buchan was close friends with many of the newly elected Labour members. There is no question that Amos is agitating against the war effort but rather that the workers are:

> fighting for the lads overseas as much as for themselves. The Governent has made mistakes, and maun be made to pay for them. If it were not so, the men would feel like a moose in a trap, for they would have no way to make their grievance felt. (*MS*, 55)

[119] Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1832-1980* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp.14-23.

Amos also describes the working man as hating three things: 'the Germans, the profiteers, as they call them, and the Irish' (*MS*, 55). Although within *Mr Standfast* this anti-Irish sentiment is questioned - on hearing Amos's claim Hannay exclaims in astonishment, 'The Irish!' (*MS*, 55) - Amos's claim that 'They're coming over here in their thousands to tak the jobs of the lads that are doing they're duty' (*MS*, 56) is very similar to the claims Buchan would later make in Parliament while calling for the need of Scotland to retain its national identity. As would be the case with Dominick Medina in *The Three Hostages* the Irish are depicted as the hostile Other, infiltrating the country and creating internal division.

In a reversal of the usual associations in a Buchan novel - the city as a place of ennui, the countryside the place for spiritual rejuvenation - while Hannay's sojourn in Glasgow allows the reader a certain measure of reassurance, the Highlands proves to be a more unsettling place. Again Scotland becomes a paradoxical region, a place where 'the enemy forces touch our own', a 'No-man's-land' (*MS*, 114). The extent to which Hannay has become acclimatised to the English country life becomes clear during his tour of the Highlands. Comparing his experience to that of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* he comments:

> On my last visit to Scotland, when I covered more moorland miles a day than any man since Claverhouse, I had been fascinated by the land, and had pleased myself with plans for settling down in it. But now, after three years of war and general racketing, I felt less drawn to that kind of landscape. I wanted something more green and peaceful and habitable and it was to the Cotswolds that my memory turned with longing. (*MS*, 78-79)

The Scottish landscape is a forbidding and testing region, one that throws up uncomfortable questions relating to the progress of modernisation and the possible negative consequences of actions associated with imperialism. On his travels Hannay encounters a crofting couple, the husband expressing 'woes that seemed so antediluvian and forgotten that I listened as one would listen to an old song' (*MS*, 89). When Hannay expresses his support for land reform the crofter remains unconvinced:

> He was not thinking about the land itself, but about the men who had been driven from it fifty years before. His desire was not for reform, but for restitution, and that was past the power of any Government. I went to bed in the loft in a sad, reflective mood, considering how in speeding our new fangled plough we must break down a multitude of molehills and how desirable and unreplaceable was the life of the moles. (*MS*, 89)

The melancholy of the Highland couple lives in sharp contrast to the political awareness displayed by Andra Amos. It is a region still held in thrall to its history, out of step with the modern world. This sense of the Highlands as being distanced from the concerns of History is complicated when, having followed an enemy agent to the 'Coolin' mountain range, Hannay suddenly becomes aware of the importance of his mission. Previously he had felt:

> It had all seemed too far-fetched and whimsical. I was running apparently no personal risk....But that dark mountain mass changed my outlook. I began to have a queer instinct that that was the place, that something might be concealed there, something pretty damnable. I remember I sat on a top for half an hour raking the hills with my glasses. I made out ugly precipices, and glens which lost themselves in primeval blackness. When the sun caught them - for it was a gleamy day - it brought out no colours, only degrees of shade. No mountains I had ever seen - not the Drakensberg or the red kopjes of Damaraland or the cold, white peaks around Ezerum - ever looked so unearthly and uncanny. (*MS*, 91)

Again, paradoxically, the region is depicted as both out of time - 'damnable', full of 'primeval blackness' - and by concealing the rendez-vous point for the German agents is also the site where History - the War - reaches Britain. As Hannay describes, 'It was as if the war had just made contact with our own shores' (*MS*, 109), creating a moment of the 'uncanny' when the Other appears within a familiar setting. Furthermore, the backdrop of the fearful mountain range heightens the sense that there are greater things at risk than invasion by another national power, that a possible German invasion could result in a regression to a savage, uncivilised state.

*The Three Hostages*[120] reveals the extent to which Buchan was influenced by the same developments in psychology taken up by writers associated with modernism, the same types satirised in Buchan's depiction of Biggleswick. Written in 1924, the fourth in the Hannay series depicts a world in which the certainties associated with the Empire of old have broken down entirely, a world in which evil can lurk beneath respectable surfaces. The assessment is supplied by Tom Greensdale, an old friend of Hannay. Taking a break from his travels Greensdale recounts individuals he would like to meet again, including 'an Irish Spaniard up in the north of the Argentine' and 'a Scots trader from Hankow who had turned Buddhist priest and intoned his prayers with a strong Glaswegian accent' (*TH*, 10-11). These figures suggest the fascination of the hybrid, the confused yet intriguing cross-cultural mix wrought in part by imperialism. Later, however, he states:

> 'The barriers between the conscious and the subconscious have always been pretty stiff in the average man. But now with the general loosening of screws they are growing shaky and the two worlds are getting mixed. It is like two separate tanks of fluid where the containing wall has worn into holes, and one is percolating into the other. The result is confusion, and, if the fluids are of a certain character, explosions. That is why I say that you can't any longer take the clear psychology of most civilized human beings for granted. Something is welling up from primeval deeps to muddy it'. (*TH*, 14)

Here the increasingly hybridised world is a source of anxiety and uncertainty. *The Three Hostages* fluctuates between the two positions, at times regarding the hybrid figure of Medina with awed appreciation, at others regarding him as the embodiment of evil which has to be destroyed in order to guarantee the future of Western civilisation. When Hannay states, 'I know no word to describe how he impressed me except "wickedness"' (*TH*, 213) the ambiguity of 'impressed' suggests an ambivalent attraction to the supervillain.

[120] John Buchan, *The Three Hostages*, Karl Miller (ed.), 1924 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Unsurprisingly it is the protean Scot Sandy Arbuthnot rather than the prosaic Richard Hannay who appears to have a better grasp of things at a time when primitive forces appear to be breaking through the crust of civilisation:

> 'Lord!' he cried, 'how I loathe our new manners in foreign policy. The old English way was to regard all foreigners as slightly childish and rather idiotic, and ourselves as the only grown-ups in a kindergarten world. That meant that we had a cool detached view and did even-handed unsympathetic justice. But now we have got into the nursery ourselves and are bear-fighting on the floor. We take violent sides, and make pets, and of course if you are *-phil* something or other you have got to be *-phobe* something else. It is all wrong. We are becoming Balkanized.' (*TH*, 63)

The racial arrogance of this passage is combined with a desire to turn away from neat divisions between good and evil. Throughout the novel it is the latter vision of the world rather than the neat hierarchy of a 'kindergarten world' that is presented. The London depicted is one surprisingly close to that of Eliot's city of decay. When wandering its streets after discovering the kidnap plot Hannay reflects that:

> The West End of London at night always affected me with a sense of the immense solidity of our civilisation [...]. But tonight I felt differently towards them. I wondered what was going on at the back of those heavy doors. Might not terror and mystery lurk behind that barricade as well as in tent and slum? (*TH*, 67)

Later he compares London to 'to the tropical bush' and an 'undiscovered country' (*TH*, 80). In a manner similar to that in *The Dynamiter* the centre has been infiltrated by the frontier. This uncertainty is further conveyed by the parallels between Sandy Arbuthnot and Medina. At first Hannay thinks Sandy's wariness towards Medina stems from Sandy being jealous of 'this man who was putting a spell on everyone' (*TH*, 60), emphasising the similarities between the two. Both are widely travelled, faintly exotic - Medina describes Sandy as 'too infernally un-English'(*TH*, 95) - and eminently clubbable. Sandy is later revealed as having

disguised himself as Medina's guru, Kharama, demonstrating that his knowledge of Oriental magic surpasses that of his enemy. On meeting 'Kharama' Hannay describes him as both handsome and repulsive (*TH*, 123), further demonstrating Sandy's uncanny abilities at disguise. Medina's ability to wrest the identity from others is paralleled by Sandy's to take on the personality of others. Buchan does make a concerted effort to 'other' Medina and does so by emphasising his Irish and so 'Celtic' ancestry. As L. P. Curtis has demonstrated the Irish were racialised throughout the nineteenth century[121] and this also accounts for the description Buchan applies to the Gaelic-speaking Medina, whose head is described 'Kaffir-like':

> It was a dark day, and the firelight silhouetted his profile, and as I stole glances at it I was struck by the shape of his head. The way he brushed his hair front and back made it look square, but I saw that it was really round, the roundest head I have ever seen except on a Kaffir. He was evidently conscious of it and didn't like it so took some pains to conceal it (*TH*, 53-54).

The villain must have some external reason for rousing suspicion, while the reference to Kaffir-like head from a South African mining engineer suggests the weight of experience verifying in objective fashion a culturally-constructed prejudice. To a certain extent this serves to distance Medina from the inner sanctum of the club world he comes close to threatening. Yet it is appropriate that it is a Scot, an individual who would be able to combine both the Celtic and the northern races, who succeeds in defeating him.

Dominick Medina is revealed as being an apostle of Michael Scott, thereby locating Medina's power in the folk knowledge of the Borders as opposed to voguish psychological chicanery (*TH*,134). This is entirely appropriate for one who occupies the borderland between the clubbable society represented by Hannay and the anarchic irrational threat beyond. Rather than being able to fix him in a particular time and place there is the sense that Medina and his

[121] L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*, passim.

kind are ahistorical and have always existed, waiting to seize their chance at moments of societal flux. The linear progression of history is once again disrupted by cyclical, repetitive forces associated with that region 'out of time', Scotland. The location, the paradoxical, ambiguous Scottish landscape, both *of* the Empire in the sense of a controlled game reserve and yet not entirely tamed, is the ideal location for a battle in which the division between hunter and hunted is ill-defined. As J. Randolph Cox notes:

> Despite their evil natures, Dominick Medina and Andrew Lumley [of *The Power House*] possess qualities which Hannay and Leithen have to admire. In the same way, the heroes have their unheroic qualities and show cowardice or rascality on occasion. There are shades of gray in Buchan's morality.[122]

The complexity of Buchan's morality is clearly indicated in the extraordinary confrontation that takes place between Medina and Hannay's wife Mary. Mary, transfigured into 'stern goddess that wielded the lightnings'(*TH*, 259), demands Medina gives back the identity of the young child David Warcliff by threatening him with vitriol. The savagery of this suggested act and the pity expressed towards Medina anticipates the ambiguous ending of the novel. After a tense hunt on the Machray estate Hannay goes out of his way to rescue Medina and expresses terrible remorse when he fails to haul his enemy to safety:

> Next second the strands had parted, and I fell back with a sound in my ears which I pray God I may never hear again - the sound of a body rebounding dully from crag to crag, and then a long soft rumbling of screes like a snowslip. (*TH*, 275)

Medina's death brings the novel to a startlingly abrupt end, without any expression of triumph or satisfaction that might be expected. It brings to mind the ending of 'No-man's Land' in its suggestion that the primitive, subterranean evils Medina embodied and the simple

[122] J. Randolph Cox 'The Genie and his Pen: The Fiction of John Buchan' in *English Literature in Transition* 1966, pp.236-240 (p.238).

goodness of Hannay were two sides of the same coin, that one could not exist without the other.

## III

The novels featuring the character Dickson McCunn, in particular the first in the trilogy, *Huntingtower*, demonstrate Buchan's concern for developing a strongly domestic commitment to the Commonwealth. As is the case with *Mr Standfast*, *Huntingtower*,[123] published in 1922, offers an insight into the economic and social difficulties facing Scotland in the wake of the First World War. McCunn is able to set off on his adventures because of the boost to his income brought about by his grocer shop having been bought up by the United Supply Stores, indicating the degree of centralisation that had taken place following World War 1 (*HT*, 12). Rather than this being depicted as a threat to Scottish distinctiveness, it liberates McCunn and enables him to enter the world of adventure and romance of his dreams. Ann F. Stonehouse notes 'The crushing disruption of the war and its after-effects touch everybody in the story'.[124] Amidst fears that Scotland was becoming subsumed by its more economically powerful neighbour, Buchan suggests the possibility of solidarity between Scots and English, battling a common, foreign enemy. In doing so, he offers an image of rejuvenation and the re-emergence of social cohesion following the ravages of the War, resulting in the Borders becoming a region devoid of young men. The band on whom national security against the Bolshevik enemy relies consists of 'Five laddies, a middle aged man and an auld wife', alongside several crippled ex-servicemen (*HT*, 193). Yet with cross generational co-operation they succeed. The Gorbals Diehards and the young English poet John Heritage

[123] John Buchan, *Huntingtower*, Ann F. Stonehouse, 1922 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[124] Ibid., Ann F. Stonehouse, introduction, p.x.

prove themselves worthy of shouldering the inheritance of national responsibility left to them by the older generation. Heritage, whose name holds an ironic resonance as he appears set on questioning the worth of the conservative values of the pre-war world, renounces his modernist ways through the 'root-of-the-matter' treatment afforded by romantic adventure. Buchan introduces figures like Heritage and Launcelot Wake, figures who at first threaten to disrupt his message of social cohesion through commitment to Britain and the Empire, only to suggest such opposition is based on a flimsy intellectualism. Loyalty to the political stability of the nation is depicted as an inherent trait emerging naturally when the occasion demands.

Janet Adam Smith emphasises the fairy tale aspect of *Huntingtower* but it is important to note the skilful blend of romanticism *and* realism Buchan achieves in the novel, drawing on his experience of work in his father's parish.[125] As with *Mr Standfast* Buchan sets about reassuring the reader that the worries concerning the threat of an armed revolution taking place in Scotland are unwarranted. This is most obvious in the representation of the Gorbals Diehards but it is also there in the moment when an acquaintance of McCunn's hands him a revolver that belonged to his nephew and 'which has been lying in a drawer ever since he came back from the front'(*HT,* 100). The firearm is put to a good cause, repelling the Bolshevik menace to the Scottish working classes. Buchan presents the Scots as active participants in ensuring the safety of Britain and so the Empire, rather than as an internal threat to its security. The Gorbals Diehards are emblematic of Buchan's conservative faith in the loyalty of the Scottish working class:

> Behind the premises in Mearns Street lay a tract of slums, full of mischievous boys, with whom his staff waged truceless war. But lately there had started among them a kind of unauthorized and unofficial Boy Scouts, who without uniform or badge or any kind of paraphernalia, followed the banner of Sir Robert Baden-Powell and subjected themselves to a rude discipline. They were far too poor to join an orthodox troop, but they faithfully copied what they believed to be the practices of more fortunate boys. (*HT*, 17)

[125] Janet Adam Smith, p.267.

It may seem highly unlikely to a modern day reader that the working class boys would spontaneously form their own imitation units of the Boy Scouts but this was indeed the case.[126] As Olive Checkland notes:

> With the relative failure to Christianise the working classes, church philanthropy increasingly turned in a 'softer' direction, namely to those who were, or who aspired to become, church members. Here the philanthropic initiatives of the church were remarkably successful: Sunday Schools, Boys' Brigades, YMCA's and many other groups received much support.[127]

Although their ruffian-like appearance and socialist worker songs may at first suggest the Gorbals Diehards would have little time for imperialist sentiments, their familiarity with fire-arms and ability to carry out military style manoeuvres indicates they are well-versed in the ethos of the Boy Scouts and the Boys' Brigade. John M. MacKenzie has suggested that within Glasgow the middle-classes set about 'colonising' the working classes with such 'missionary' initiatives as the Scouts and Boys' Brigade.[128] Buchan himself would later suggest at a speech given for the Canadian Boy Scout Association on becoming 'Chief Scout for Canada':

> It seems to me that the Boy Scout Movement has an importance which it has never had before. It has become a great school of national training for every class and especially for the classes who do not follow as a matter of course the ordinary routine of school and college. It can give to the unprivileged all the benefits of the privileged [...]. I have come across many cases of mischievous gangs of hobble-de-hoys in our cities at home which owed their existence to a perfectly honest and natural craving of young people for society. This instinct ill-directed may be a social scourge. If well directed it may be a powerful force of social stability.[129]

[126] John M. MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Propaganda: the manipulation of the British public, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp.245-246.
[127] Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: social welfare and the voluntary principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), p.320.
[128] John M. MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Propaganda*, pp.245-246.
[129] Boy Scout Association Dinner, Montreal 1 May 1936, accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 312. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

One of the intentions behind both these groups was to groom young boys for work in the colonies or to become supportive of the British Empire, thereby providing a release valve for possibly dangerous elements.

The extent to which Buchan regarded the Empire as a means of curing Britain's social ills is demonstrated by his advocacy of emigration and training camps for the young in order to learn the skills needed to cultivate the colonies. As Kuklick points out, this carries the notion of improvement usually meted out to the colonised to the urban poor, or, as Henry Mayhew described them, the 'wandering tribes in civilised society'.[130] Kuklick goes on to demonstrate the extent to which anthropological theories relating to the development of society influenced the treatment of the poor:

> The assumptions that guided the observations of journalists and social survey researchers also inspired many efforts to uplift the poor to the stage of social development they had not reached independently - to oblige them to accept the discipline of steady habitation and labor. For example, schemes were advanced to create labor colonies in which the poor would be taught either agricultural or industrial skills; after their training experiences, the poor were expected to emigrate to the vast, uncultivated lands of the colonies to take up agricultural labor, to find industrial employment[...].[131]

The Empire therefore provided a means of returning to a way of life uncomplicated by the developments of heavy industry and modernisation. In a speech given in 1929, advocating emigration for the poor, Buchan lists opportunities that involve either rural work or servant positions, suggesting a return to a feudal way of life:

> The work I am here this afternoon to support is an attempt to bring back hope to such lives, to save youth while there is still time. The first and obvious course is to train boys to emigrate

[130] Henry Mayhew quoted in Kuklick, p.100.
[131] Ibid. p.101

> to a country where they still have a chance...stable man, chauffeur, carpenter, gardener, forester.[132]

The climax of *Huntingtower* reflects this social conservatism as upper, lower and middle classes are united in victory against the forces of communism, having secured the safety of the Russian aristocracy. The possible threat to the social hierarchy presented by the Gorbal's Die-hards - McCunn comments that he's thankful there's only half a dozen of them as with more they would need a new government (*HT*, 100) - is subsumed within the greater cause of Britain and the Empire. The fairy-tale motifs that recur throughout the novel - the exiled Princess, the questing hero - serve to conceal its political ideology, naturalising the near feudal nature of the society it promotes while demonising the potentially democratising effects of Marxism, by envisioning it as the evil Other. This is carried through to the sequel *Castle Gay* in which the Bolshevik Evallonians make a return appearance in Scotland. When the foreigners are confronted they are described as men 'who had hunted and been hunted like beasts - to whom murder was an incident in policy - whose natural habitat was the cave and the jungle....the atmosphere in the library had changed to something savage and primordial'.[133] Communism becomes a natural evil, a regression to primitive ways rather than a serious political movement.

In *Castle Gay* (1930) the Die-Hards have undergone through McCunn's influence a process of civilising to become valuable members of society, yet to suggest, as Alastair McCleery does, that this is indicative of a process of the former residents of the Gorbals becoming Englishmen uses a narrow definition of 'anglicisation'.[134] The hero, young Jaikie, or rather John Galt, appears to be uncertain which future path to take and faces the accusation of his fellow former Diehard Douglas that 'I think you've gone over to the English'.[135] After

[132] February 9 1930 Oxford and Bermondsey: Club Centre of Instruction and Amusement for Boys in Deprived Areas. Accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 312. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[133] John Buchan, *Castle Gay*, 1930 (London: J. M. Dent, 1983), p.218.
[134] Alistair McCleery, p.281-282,
[135] Ibid., p.30.

repelling the Evallonian Bolshevik threat yet again, rather than reconfirming his attachment to Scotland, Galt realises:

> how oddly detached he was. He was hungry for life, as hungry as Dickson McCunn. He enjoyed every moment, but he knew that his enjoyment came largely from standing a little apart. He was not a cynic, for there was no sourness in him. He had a kindliness towards most things, and a large charity. But he did not take sides. He had not accepted any mood, or creed, or groove as his own [...]. He was only a seeker.[136]

Jaikie therefore comes close to the freedom from national ties represented by Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham, suggesting the possible benefits but also outsider status of the Scot who prefers to travel to discover himself rather than to remain. The final book in the trilogy finds him travelling round Europe in Stevensonian manner and discovering Evallonia in thrall to a young nationalist movement that bears a strong resemblance to the Hitler Youth. It is extremely telling that on his first meeting in *The House of the Four Winds* (1925) with his old university chum Ashien, now leader of Juventus, an Evallonian youth group, Jaikie asks, 'Is it the Boy Scouts or a revolution?'[137] Buchan suggests, albeit unwittingly, the parallels between the youth movements associated with the Empire and the imperialist ideology with what would develop into nationalism. In a speech to the Canadian Boy Scout association on the benefits of the movement he had written:

> They harden and toughen the campers and introduce them to many of the crafts which are as old as human society. You find the same spirit in Germany today...the ability to defend itself.[138]

In the draft version, however, the reference to Germany had been scored out.

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[136] Ibid., p.226.
[137] John Buchan, *The House of the Four Winds*, 1935 (London: Penguin, 1962), p.41.
[138] Boy Scout Association Dinner, Toronto, 27 February 1937. Accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 313. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

## IV

*Huntingtower* demonstrates Buchan's continued interest in the state of modern Scottish society. Yet Michael Young positions *John Macnab* (1925)[139] within the romance genre believing it relies on a:

> removal to another time - a 'past', a 'future' or an alternative present - which is a moment of imaginative freedom apparently beyond the check of historical time, and through removal to another space somehow distant from and marginal to that of the cultural center, and yet crucial as a special area where the culture is tested, recreated and reasserted.[140]

While right to emphasis the importance of the marginal space in which the dominant culture is 'tested, recreated and reasserted', suggesting the novel positions Scotland as a fantastic Never-never Land set 'out of time', blind to the reality of contemporary Scotland, he oversimplifies the novel. *John Macnab* interrogates the possible development of Scotland at a time when political nationalists were attempting to reconfigure the Scottish national identity. David Daniell states that the commercialisation of the sport has resulted in the original adventure being 'debased' as 'gone is all the element of the dare, with the cunning and the fieldcraft, and the mobilized defences, which are the essence of the book'.[141] 'Doing a *Macnab*' has become part of the commercialisation of the Highlands, involving 'for a very high fee indeed, being transported to the killing of a stag, a salmon, and a brace of grouse on the same day,' with 'no possible risk'.[142] Yet, as will be demonstrated, the three adventurers of the novel face 'no possible risk'. Daniell's complaint assumes that *John Macnab*

[139] John Buchan, *John Macnab*, David Daniell (ed.), 1925 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[140] Michael Young, 'The Rules of the Game', p.211.
[141] David Daniell, Introduction to John Buchan, *John Macnab* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. ix.
[142] Ibid., p.ix.

represents a more innocent *pre*-commercialised Highlands, rather than a land given over, as Christopher MacLachlan says, to 'tourism and sport'.[143] Buchan referred to the Highlands as a 'parasitic society', one that has yet to achieve economic maturity, and comments made by other characters in his novels suggest he objected to the acceptance abroad of the Highlands as the location of the 'real' Scotland:

> The hostess was cross-examining Mr Charvill about his knowledge of Scotland, which, it appeared, was confined to one visit to a Highland shooting lodge.
>
> 'Then you know no thing about us at all,' she declared firmly. 'Scotland is the Lowlands. Here we have a civilisation of our own, just as good as England, but quite different. The Highlands are a sad, depopulated place, full of midges and kilted haberdashers.'[144]

In an article entitled 'Beyond the Tweed' writing on the Scottish hunting lodge he suggests of Scotland:

> She is not giving the stranger even a glimpse of her heart. There are many different Scotlands but the shooting-lodge, Highland gathering world is not one of them. It has no relation to anything in the country that matters.[145]

Buchan reiterates the view of Mrs Brisbane-Brown, exhorting visitors to Highland hunting lodges against believing them to be representative of Scotland as a whole. As MacLachlan suggests the old Highland order is treated in a bracingly unsentimental manner, with Buchan interrogating the 'Scotch myths' that have previously sustained the nation, leaving open the question of what might take their place in the modern world.[146]

The novel also reveals the close and continued link between the land management of Scotland and that of the rest of the Empire. In his book *The Empire of Nature: Hunting,*

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[143] Christopher MacLachlan, p.5.
[144] John Buchan, *Castle Gay*, p.63.
[145] 'Paradox Beyond The Tweed' in *The Graphic*, September 1930 in accession 7214, Mf. MSS. 313. National Library of Scotland.
[146] Christopher MacLachlan, p.59-60.

*Conservation and British Imperialism* John M. MacKenzie makes explicit the dialectial relationship between developments in landownership within Britain and the creation of game reserves in the further reaches of the Empire. He also reveals the political dimension of the hunt as a means of controlling potentially troubling social elements:

> The conversion of English agricultural land and Scottish pasture had the effect of creating game reserves in all but name. The idea of separating productive human settlement from areas demarcated for the use of animals and the pursuit of the hunt was admittedly an ancient one. By this technique a ruling elite could draw its revenue and human following from the one while exhibiting its prestige, securing its recreation and symbolically establishing its authority over the natural world in the other [...]. The reconversion of large tracts of Scotland to the wild therefore represented a nineteenth-century return to an ancient idea, now funded by industrial wealth.[147]

Scotland as an outpost of Empire is conveyed by the description 'The hill behind Crask rises to a line of small cliffs not unlike a South African kranz' (*JM*, 160). Wattie is described as having the 'pace of a Gurkha' (*JM*, 166) and is able to trail 'blood marks like an Indian' (*JM*, 175). The instinctive nature of Wattie's skill is also emphasised, suggesting a greater kinship with the land and the animals that dwell upon it. 'He seemed to know by instinct when a hind could be bluffed, and when her suspicions must be laboriously quieted' , (*JM*, 169). The respect displayed towards Wattie largely serves to disguise the feudal relationship between him and his upperclass employers. Wattie steps down at the moment of the kill, handing that privilege to his master. As Young remarks, 'in the feudal order of John *Macnab*'s game, this is for gentlemen only'.[148] This hierarchy illustrates the way in which the game reserves ensured control over not only the animals but also the people of the land.

The ideological aspects of the hunt are further concealed by the elaborate rules surrounding the correct manner in which it should be conducted. The importance of the Hunt

[147] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp 20-21.
[148] Michael Young, 'The Rules of the Game' John Buchan's *John Macnab*, p.199.

as an indicator of civilisation is evident in another Leithen novel *The Dancing Floor* (1926). In a moment reminiscent of Marlowe's discovery of a book on shipping details in the African jungle,[149] Vernon discovers Peter Beckford's *Thoughts on Hunting* on the Greek island of Plakos whose inhabitants have regressed back to primitive ways. Leithen remarks: 'He could not have been more surprised if he had found a copy of the *Eton Chronicle*', illustrating the upper-class associations of hunting.[150] In *John Macnab* the Hunt is both democratic, in that the original band of three 'poachers' expands to include the Raden family, a young gipsy boy Fish Benjie and the journalist Crossby, and yet exclusive in that strict rules have to be adhered to if it is to be 'authentic'. Respect is accorded to the beast that 'plays the game', anger displayed towards the animals that fail to do so. An important aspect is that the death of the stag should be an honourable one, according to the code of gentlemanly conduct, suggesting a game between equals: 'He's terrible auld - some says a hundred year - and if ye dinna kill him he'll perish next winter, belike, in a snaw-wreath, and that's a puir death to dee' (*JM*, 171) Wattie's lore naturalises the killing, turning into a benevolent act, one that fits into the cycle of nature, one that disallows potentially unsettling questions as to the morals of killing an animal and taking pleasure in its death for the sake of a leisure pursuit:

> 'It's yoursel, ye auld hero, and ye've come by a grand end. Ye've had a braw life traivellin' the hills, and ye've been a braw beast, and the fame o' ye gaed through a' the countryside. Ye micht have dwined awa in the cauld winter and dee'd in the wame o' a snawdrift. Or ye micht have been massacred by ane o' thae Haripol sumphs wi' ten bullets in the big bag. But ye've been killed clean and straucht by John *Macnab*, and that is a gentleman's death, whatever'. (*JM*, 176)

The reference to the ten bullets that would have been employed by the noveau riche Claybody's who occupy Haripol illustrates, as MacKenzie points out, the way in which the rules of hunting had been adjusted to maintain its exclusive status as new hunting technology

[149] Joseph Conrad, p.65.
[150] John Buchan, *The Dancing Floor*, 1926 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.172.

made hunting easier for the amateur.[151] Buchan displays what might be described as a radical conservatism. Janet Raden's extraordinary speech in which she refers to the Highland clans as 'survivals' who must adapt or perish has to be balanced with the priority given to those who follow the 'rules of the game'. The final reconciliation of Johnson Claybody to the superior gentlemanly qualities of those who have trespassed on his land suggests that the old ways could still continue.

The novel reveals the extent to which the Scottish Highlands were regarded as a substitute for the true wilderness of the remote areas of Empire, yet Scotland remains in a curious, liminal state. It is both 'real' when the serious business of the hunt is on and Palliser-Yeates, Lamancha and Leithen believe themselves to be under genuine threat of capture, and yet 'unreal' in the sense that those involved ultimately face no real danger. The characters themselves take on the mantle of 'poachers' rather than poachers, those who are intent on upsetting the claims of possession of the upper classes. As members of the establishment themselves and so protected they are able to adopt this dual persona, apparently disrupting but actually maintaining the status quo. The 'false' nature of the expedition is revealed by Lord Claybody, who tells them that at no point were their public reputations seriously in danger:

> 'Do you think it conceivable that I would do anything to weaken the public prestige of the a statesman I believe in, a great lawyer I brief, and a great banker whose assistance is of the utmost value to me?' (*JM*, 231)

Ironically the aim of the three to escape the safe, clubbable world of London is limited by the rules of that club. Their 'enemy' is no opposition at all due to being one of them. In response Leithen complains:

> 'Lord, I believe you're right,' he groaned. 'We've been potting sitting birds. John, do you hear? We've been making

[151] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p.299-305.

> godless fools of ourselves. We thought we had got outside civilization and were really taking chances. But we weren't. We were all the time safe as your blessed bank. It can't be done - not in this country anyway.' (*JM*, 231)

Michael Young describes *John Macnab* as a nostalgic return to a world lost in the carnage of the First World War.[152] Yet Leithen's remarks hold out the possibility of real danger still available on the colonial frontier, a colonial frontier that has yet to be managed by the rules of the game displayed by the gentlemen adventurers.

As Janet Adam Smith indicates the Scotland of *John Macnab* provides an environment where class differences are elided while a feudal state maintained.[153] The extent to which Buchan romanticised the ways of the game reserve is demonstrated by the rather less fairy-tale like nature of his source material. As Duff Hart-Davis remarks 'the whole concept of the book was far more romantic and amusing than the person who inspired it'.[154] The inspiration for the three lawyers is 'Jim Tarras',[155] a figure based on Captain Jimmy Brander Dunbar who owned an estate called Pitgavnie near Elgin and frequently poached from neighbouring land owners. Ironically for one who provided a model for Buchan, Dunbar's

> whole life seems to have been soured by his experience as a boy at Rugby, where, a Scot speaking only rough English, he could at first scarcely make himself understood, and in consequence was persistently bullied. The experience left him

[152] Michael Young, 'The Rules of the Game' John Buchan's *John Macnab*, p.196.
[153] Janet Adam Smith, p.264.
[154] Duff Hart-Davis, *Monarchs of the Glen: A History of Deer-Stalking in the Scottish Highlands* (London: Johnathon Cape, 1978), p.221.
[155] Archie Roylance describes Jim Tarras to Lamancha, Leithen and Palliser-Yates:

> 'You remember Jim? He had a place somewhere in Moray and spent most of his time shootin' in East Africa. Poor chap, he went back there with Smuts in the war and perished of blackwater. Well, when his father died and he came home to settle down, he found it an uncommon dull job. So, to enliven it, he invented a new kind of sport. He knew all there was to be know about *shikar*, and from trampin' about the Highlands he had a pretty accurate knowledge of the countryside. So he used to write to the owner of a deer forest and present his compliments, and beg to inform him that between certain dates he proposed to kill one of his stags. When he killed it he undertook to deliver it to the owner, for he wasn't a thief [...].He was the best *shikari* God ever made.' (*JM*, 15)

> with an ineradicable hatred of anyone in authority, and in particular of anyone connected with public schools.[156]

Dunbar's poaching therefore had an anti-authoritarian, subversive edge at odds with the socially unifying nature of the hunt of *John Macnab*, closer in spirit to Andrew Greig's recent reworking.[157] Ironically, Dunbar's activities were fuelled by his experience as 'Other' in a school preparing its pupils in the ways of Empire. Furthermore, visitors to Dunbar's house

> were welcomed by the skull of a German sniper whom Dunbar had decapitated during the First World War. Normally he never cleaned or polished anything except his firearms; but this human skull was the object of regular maintenance, and it hung like a trophy of the chase over the front door.[158]

His behaviour makes gruesomely obvious the connection between hunting and war as hunting was regarded as a means of preparing for colonial wars.

A comparison with the work of Neil Gunn in relation to the theme of the Hunt bears out Buchan's use of themes that would recur in the writing of the Scottish Renaissance for his own very different ideological purposes. As Gifford points out, the hunt for the salmon or the trout in Gunn's work carries a political point alongside its mythic intent as Highlanders are forced to poach the fish due to the strictures of landowners.[159] The hunt therefore becomes emblematic of both the physical disruption of the Clearances and subsequent division of land, but also of the psychic damage wrought by colonialisation, the way in which the myths of a culture have been reinterpreted by those who take control of the land. In Buchan's *John Macnab* there is no question of the 'poachers' being prevented from carrying out their aims due to their high-ranking status within society. The lack of any real threat to the social order the activities of Edward Leithen and his respectable friends represent is

[156] Duff Hart-Davis, p.219.
[157] Andrew Greig, *The Return of John Macnab* (London: Headline, 1996).
[158] Duff Hart-Davis, p.220.
[159] Douglas Gifford *Lewis Grassic Gibbon and Neil Gunn* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1983), pp.13-15, 34-35.

highlighted by Andrew Grieg's reinterpretation of the novel, *The Return of John Macnab*, published in 1996. In Grieg's novel the letter sent from the nineties version of John Macnab gives as reasons for the venture 'boredom, absentee landowners and the Criminal Justice Act'. The loser will 'undertake to vote for the political party of the winner's choice in the next general election, which cannot come soon enough in the undersigned's opinion'.[160] John Macnab has been granted a radical left-of-centre political consciousness that reveals the conservatism of the original.

Yet the myth surrounding John Macnab brings about parallels with the 'grey morality' attributed to other heroes and villains in the Buchan *oeuvre* - John Macnab becomes a shape-shifter, a protean hero who, in being ascribed certain qualities by those who speculate on his origins, causes them to reveal more about themselves. Macnab can be regarded as a benevolent Hyde, a hybrid creation who brings into question the nature of identity. Macnab is no more 'real' than Richard Hannay and yet just as Hannay became a means of maintaining the ideology associated with Empire, reinforcing and legitimising the beliefs of his readers, so John Macnab is able to influence society at large. As MacLachlan points out, Macnab soon escapes the authority of his creators as nationwide speculation grows and bring about widespread speculation on his 'true' nature.[161] Once again, the spirit of the 'uncanny' is evoked as Macnab becomes the ideal hero for a nation unsure of its own future political identity yet with a strong sense of nation. Macnab is neither real nor unreal but rather one of the 'myths of the nation' that can contain multiple identities and narratives. Julian D'Arcy has demonstrated the importance of racial theories surrounding the origins of the Scots and their effect on the literature of the interwar period. He notes that this debate became most pertinent during the time of the Scottish Renaissance, coinciding with a growing political demand for greater autonomy for Scotland.[162] Debate raged as to whether the Scots were descended from the same Celtic forebears as the Irish or from the Norse, an ancestry that would include the

[160] Andrew Greig, Frontispiece.
[161] Christopher MacLachlan, 'The Scottish Novels of John Buchan', p.58.
[162] Julian D'Arcy *Of Norsemen and Skalds: Old Norse influence on modern Scottish Literature* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), p.3.

Northern ancestors of the English. Buchan, through the presence of Harald Blacktooth, appears to be satirising the debate; an American digs up the ancient Scottish past, and the newspapers claim that Blacktooth has been reincarnated in the spirit of Macnab. Young claims this suggests 'that its eponymous hero is reaffirming our historical identity, our cultural and racial inheritance as symbolized in such figures as Robin Hood and the Vikings'.[163] However, within a few weeks, 'the world had forgotten John Macnab, and had turned its attention to the cinema star just arrived in London' (*JM*, 236) . As MacLachlan says the novel 'cunningly defines the nature of fiction, in a story directly concerned with the use of a fiction, John Macnab'.[164] Just as the world forgets Macnab, Buchan suggests his light fiction could be forgotten with equal ease. In this way he comments on the sustaining yet 'false' consciousness of the nation, one that creates its heroes at times of need but then forgets them for the temporal world of the everyday.

Buchan's final novel *Sick Heart River* (1941) was published posthumously and, in a manner that eerily prefigures Buchan's own death, ends with Edward Leithen dying in order to protect the 'weaker races' of the Commonwealth, in this case a tribe of Canadian 'Indians'. Leithen travels to the Canadian frontier in order to rescue a French-Canadian banker, Galliard, who, suffering the ennui with modern life that affected Leithen in *John Macnab*, has set out to test himself against the wilderness. However, he has been driven near mad by the experience. Leithen, however, is able to face the terrible wastes while Galliard only senses the 'waft of death'.[165] Reconciling himself to the cycle of death and life Leithen continues to fight for life:

> The world was at war again. It might be the twilight of the gods, the end of all things. The globe might swim in blood. Death might resume his ancient reign. But, by Heaven, he would strike his blow for life, even a pitiful flicker of it.[166]

[163] Michael Young, p.202.
[164] Christopher MacLachlan, 'The Scottish Novels of John Buchan', p.63-64.
[165] John Buchan, *Sick Heart River*, David Daniell (ed.), 1941 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.173.
[166] Ibid., p.182-183.

Thinking back to the memories of the First World War he recognises 'it did not sicken him. Rather it braced him, as when a shore-dweller who has been long inland gets a whiff of the sea. It was the spark which fired within him an explosive train of resolution'.[167] Leithen's journey to the frontier suggests a Buchan hero finally giving himself over to the Other, be it the wilds of the Canadian tundra or the ways of the Hare Indians, and returning stronger than before. However, Leithen's humility should not disguise the fact that the novel is still couched in the hierarchies of imperialism. It is suggested that Galliard's 'weakness' stems from his mixed racial heritage. The plight of the natives is secondary to the hero's redemption, the Hare Indians remaining silent and without a voice. *Sick Heart River*, as compared to a work like *Heart of Darkness*, suffers through its lack of ironic awareness. At no point is it hinted at that the predicament of the tribe might have been brought about by the detrimental effects of colonialism. *Sick Heart River* is therefore a fitting end to the paradoxical, contradictory world of Empire Buchan presents.

This chapter has demonstrated the way in which Buchan's view of Scotland influenced his experience of Empire and vice versa, providing rich and valuable perspective on that under-researched figure, the Scottish imperialist. Despite his political differences however Buchan shared with Robert Louis Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham a fascination with the figure of the hybrid as one who can confuse the boundaries between here and there, Self and Other. His interest in border territories, the meeting points between the savage and the civilised, came about due to his close connection to the Scottish landscape and Calvinist theology. Rather than being an anachronistic anomaly within Scottish literature of the interwar years Buchan investigated the same concerns of Modernist writers, exploring with a fearful fascination the eruption of the primitive into the modern-day world. To impose critical neglect on such a figure due to his association with Empire is to ignore a writer who offers an original perspective on Scottish national identity.

[167] Ibid., p.187.

# Conclusion: The Wandering Scot Returns

> My theme here is 'the Scot abroad'. As anybody who knows my predilections and propensities will suspect, I'll be talking less about what comes to mind immediately under such a heading in the customary Scottish context we all know: exiles in Canada or Australia, whole genealogies of colonial administrators, long lines of Bible-toting missionaries, and more [...]. But since exiles aren't always just exiles, out to found a Burns Society in the desert (sometimes they go native and become interesting, sometimes they actually take a look at the desert), since mercenary soldiers are often in the game for more than money and since colonial administrators quite frequently have side-interests (such as studying local languages, literature and thought) going beyond the call of imperial duty, I'll be mentioning also, at least in passing, these categories along with merchants, mercenaries, doctors, engineers, and even missionaries.[1]

In the quote above Kenneth White, a writer who follows on in the tradition of the Scottish literary exile as exemplified by R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Robert Louis Stevenson and John Buchan, suggests the neglected complexity of the position of Scots within the Empire. While the image of the 'Wandering Scot' is regarded as a source of pride the Scot of Empire is a more controversial figure to be alternately reviled and ignored. The aim of this thesis has been to examine the extent to which three Scottish writers, fascinated and frequently appalled by the continuing development of the British Empire, went 'beyond the call of imperial duty' in order to investigate the uncanny nature of the colonial frontier. Their ability to do so effectively stemmed from their sense of what it meant to be Scottish. The circumstances affecting the Scottish Highlands, the rich heterogeneity of Scottish dialect and custom and a clear sense of difference from the Anglo-Saxon rhetoric and imagery associated with Empire were all factors in influencing the attitudes expressed by the three writers examined. The Calvinist image of the double self also assisted in

[1] Kenneth White, 'The Scot Abroad' in *On Scottish Ground: Selected Essays* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1998), pp.95-114, p.95

confusing the division between savage and civilised, enabling the three writers to disrupt the binary oppositions of the imperialist discourse. In all three cases their sense of 'otherness' as Scots within the British Empire can be discerned in their attempt to explore and dissolve the distinction between Self and Other, the familiar and the unfamiliar.

In his essay 'Being Between' Cairns Craig focuses on those modern Scottish writers such as James Kelman, Liz Lochhead and Tom Leonard who occupy an 'in-between' literary state 'between the written and the spoken, between the parochially demotic and the "standard" literary tradition'.[2] The same approach can be usefully applied to the three writers of this study who have suffered critical neglect due to a perceived capitulation to a uniformly English literary tradition or, in the case of Cunninghame Graham, by producing work that cannot be easily pigeon-holed generically. All three worked in the space between the dominant discourse of imperialism and the primitive and the 'savage' elements which the civilising element of imperialism sought to eradicate. Cunninghame Graham and Stevenson in particular display an interest and respect for the 'primitive' culture of the Highlands and a sensitivity to the way in which the demotic should be translated in literary form. The terrible events of the Highland Clearances inevitably brought into question the moral associations ascribed to the terms savage and civilised and encouraged exploration of the borderland between the two. As demonstrated in the case of Stevenson in Samoa this knowledge inevitably fed into his treatment of overseas colonial exploitation and in his experimental co-mingling of the oral tradition of the South Seas with the 'standard' literary tradition of the West. That this came about due to his appreciation of the country of his birth is attested by the sense of overlapping cultures and histories displayed in *Kidnapped*. Cunninghame Graham's experience of growing up in Stirlingshire inspired a similar interest in border territories and in layering geographies that brought into question the distinctions between 'here' and 'there', centre and periphery. John Buchan,

[2] Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, p.190.

despite his adherence to the ideology of imperialism and his strong belief in the benefits of colonialism, shared with Stevenson an intent to subvert the geographical and moral certainties of imperial adventure stories. Influenced by the morally ambiguous fictional world of Stevenson and by his fascination with geographical border zones Buchan's novels frequently collapse the boundaries between good and evil to reveal moments when hero and villain appear interchangeable or mirror one another in uncanny fashion. The Buchan enemy, be it Moxon Ivery or Dominick Medina, rather than being geographically defined poses an internal threat, illustrating the way in which imperial concerns could not be held distinct from the domestic realm. Stevenson, Cunninghame Graham and Buchan also draw attention repeatedly to the uncanny status of the hybrid within the colonial context and so, by inference, to the insider/outsider position of the Scot within the Empire. Long John Silver, Alan Breck and Clara Luxmore all serve to confuse the binary oppositions of Victorian imperialism by playing with the reader's assumptions relating to gender, race, good and evil, savage and civilised. Graham displays an acute and empathetic interest in figures who, like himself, have difficulty defining themselves according to racial, cultural or national definitions. The black poet Silvio Sánchez, nicknamed Mirahuano in the sketch of that name, Maron Mohanna of 'Sidi Bu Zibbala' and Higginson of 'Higginson's Dream' all experience the prejudices held against those who are neither one thing nor another. John Buchan's work frequently reveals the thinking that existed behind such prejudice yet as the protean, shape-shifting figure of Sandy Arbuthnot suggests, as does the admiration with which Dominick Medina is referred to, while the hybrid in Buchan's world is frequently a figure to be feared it also holds an uncanny fascination. All three writers amply demonstrate the state of 'being between' that is far from new to Scottish writers.

By examining the work of Stevenson, Graham and Buchan links can be established between their work and writers associated with the Scottish Renaissance thereby undermining the assumption that a clear division exists between Scottish writers of the

nineteenth century and those of the interwar years. By establishing the overlapping themes between writers associated with the days of Empire and those who were struggling to free themselves from Britain's imperial legacy the image of Scottish literary culture as fractured and discontinuous is challenged. Rather than simple and clear defining lines between imperialist and 'post'-colonial fiction it becomes evident that the one can frequently blur into the other. R. B. Cunninghame Graham's writing brings into question the terms by which certain types of writing are accepted into the Scottish literary canon. As the writings of many imperial Scots consisted mainly of diaries, journals or travel accounts his work serves to remind us of the hidden voices of imperial Scots within Scottish literary study. His sketches and travel writing also suggest the strength of Scottish anti-imperialists while providing a range of examples of Scots within the Empire: from the stern Protestant missionary of 'A Convert' to the hybridised Highlanders of 'San Andrés' to Graham himself both reaffirming and subverting the image of the imperial explorer in *Mogreb-el-Acksa*. Graham's fascination and admiration for explorers and adventurers particularly those of the Spanish Conquest was echoed by James Leslie Mitchell, better known as Lewis Grassic Gibbon. Gibbon's interest in ancient history and in anthropology greatly informed his fiction as is demonstrated by *Spartacus* (1933) and, most famously, *A Scots Quair*. It would at first appear therefore that Gibbon can be placed firmly in the vanguard of literary modernism as they attempted to cut through imperialist rhetoric to achieve a reconnection with the primitive or savage in order to reinvigorate Western art forms. However, a work such as *Nine Against the Unknown* (1934) suggests an alternative positioning of his work. In *Nine Against the Unknown* Gibbon details the life and work of nine explorers, a list that runs from the Norse discoverer of 'Vinland' Lief Ericsson to Richard Burton. He gives full rein to his interest in exploration and so suggests the overlap between the heroes of Victorian and Edwardian imperialism and inter-war literary modernism.

Gibbon begins *Nine Against the Unknown* by expounding G. Elliot Smith's Diffusionist theory of anthropology, stating that the 'exploring miners and traders and exploiters of Egypt carried agriculture, its banes and blessings, to Sumer, to Syria, to Crete', a theory that echoes Andrew Lang's emphasis on the role of explorers and travellers in spreading myths and customs.[3] William K. Malcolm points out that Gibbon, in keeping with his Marxist philosophy, uses world history to illustrate moments of conflict between oppressors and the oppressed.[4] This suggests a close parallel to the work of Cunninghame Graham, whose histories of the Spanish Conquest serve to remind the reader of the repetitions of oppression imperialism enacts. The comparison is particularly strongly felt in Gibbon's account of the life of Cabeza de Vaca, a Spanish conquistador who travelled to the New World and through America in the early sixteenth century. Such remarks as 'it needed the example of Christian Europe to teach him [the Indian] war and man-eating'[5] or having Vaca reflect 'that these heathens of the great lost continent [were] kinder than Christians heathen though they were'[6] could easily have been taken from a work by Graham. Despite his sensitivity to the repercussions of exploration, however, Gibbon's accounts are less an outright attack on the imperialist impulse than an attempt to re-position the explorer in a manner similar to that outlined by Kenneth White as one who seeks out new worlds for the experience itself rather than for the prospect of trade, plunder or national aggrandisement. He makes this clear at the beginning of his chapter on Richard Burton as he tackles the question of why he chose Burton rather than a figure like Livingstone or Stanley:

> Livingstone, who opened up such great areas of Central Africa, followed by Stanley, who rescued him and discovered even more, are both outside the count for reasons of taste,

[3] James Leslie Mitchell/Lewis Grassic Gibbon, *Nine Against the Unknown: A Record of Geographical Exploration* (London: Jarrolds, 1934), p.14.
[4] William K. Malcolm, *A Blasphemer and Reformer: A Study of James Leslie Mitchell/Lewis Grassic Gibbon* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), p.15.
[5] Lewis Grassic Gibbon, *Nine Against the Unknown*, p.140.
[6] Ibid., p.152.

> character, and sentiment. The one was a missionary reformer-zealot led into exploration for the strangest variety of reasons, but never for that essential that we glimpse as the earth conqueror's supreme compulsion. Stanley, of a darker and baser persuasion, is outside the picture almost at once. With him commerce, commendation, and the acquirement of decorations were the main urges.[7]

This passage suggests that Gibbon's concept of the explorer or traveller was one very close to that of Stevenson, Cunninghame Graham and even, as suggested by the camp-fire discussion of *A Lodge in the Wilderness*, by Buchan. The traveller is one who occupies an in-between state, both rejecting civilisation and promoting civilisation, an individual whose discoveries may have state or commercial implications but who was ultimately travelling for some higher purpose, be it the pursuit of knowledge or individual fulfillment. In this sense Gibbon bears a similarity with the three writers discussed by this study by writing between an imperialist and an anti-imperialist discourse. As demonstrated in my discussion of Graham's histories of the Spanish Conquest, while highly critical of imperialist endeavour, be it Catholic or Protestant, he also displays a very real respect for the bravery and determination of the conquerors. An admiration for the absurd heroism of explorers, an appreciation of their efforts to forward knowledge of distant regions is shared by Graham and Gibbon, both marking an attempt to reclaim figures who had become icons of Empire, to question definitions of the savage and the civilised and to promote the acquisition of knowledge of the wider world without the oppressive effects of imperialism. In his essay 'Glasgow' Gibbon writes:

> Glasgow's salvation, Scotland's salvation, the world's salvation lies in neither nationalism nor internationalism, those twin halves of an idiot whole. It lies in ultimate cosmopolitanism, the earth the City of God, the Brahmaputra

[7] Ibid., pp. 264-265.

> and Easter Island as free and familiar to the man of Govan as the Molendinar and Bute.[8]

Rather than making a clean break with the past this passage reverberates with the cosmopolitan spirit found throughout the work of Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham

Robert Crawford draws attention to the anthropological element of Gibbon's fiction as inherited down through Scott in order to highlight the particularly Scottish nature of Gibbon's modernism.[9] Gibbon's interest in the continued influence of primitive life in present-day Scotland explored most fully in his *A Scots Quair* trilogy also bears a clear similarity to the themes of the conflict between 'savage' demotic culture and the 'civilising' impact of Scottish society that Stevenson delineates in *Catriona* and *Weir of Hermiston.* This demonstrates the danger in condemning Stevenson as an imperially minded writer and so ignoring his in-between status as one who was both impressed by the mythology of Empire and yet concerned for those who suffered imperialism's onslaught. He therefore provides an important link between the work of Scott and that of the Scottish modernists. His combined interest in archaeology and anthropology indicated by his correspondence from the South Seas with Andrew Lang enabled him to offer a complex interpretation of Scotland's past, the relationship between the present and the past, the influence of history and of our ancestors on the present day. The dilemma of Archie Weir in *Weir of Hermiston*, caught between the civilised, historical world of his father and the primitive, ahistorical world of Kirstie Elliot and her brothers, is one echoed in Gibbon's *Grey Granite* (1934) in the contrast between Ewan Tavendale's political activities and Chris Guthrie's continued connection with the ancient myths of her region. While Gibbon's characters in *A Scots Quair* enter into the forward march of history, as critics have noted, Chris Guthrie remains at one remove from politics and social change, gaining strength and solace from the

[8] Lewis Grassic Gibbon, 'Glasgow' repr. in *The Speak of the Mearns* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1994), p.126.
[9] Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, pp.265-266.

ancient standing stones of Kinraddie that remind her both of the transient nature of an individual life and the deep ancestral connection with those who have gone before.[10] Cairns Craig, writing on *Sunset Song* (1932), suggests that while Ewan, Chris's husband, 'confronts history as a remembrance, but remembrance only of violence and death, Chris confronts life as amnesia, cyclic and without progression; a world in which history has no meaning.'[11] This tension between the 'world of history' and the 'world of the historyless' is central to Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston.*[12] At first it may appear that Stevenson's attitude towards the primitive is far more negative than Gibbon's as the projected ending of *Weir* is that of a continued cycle of violence as savage feelings are brought to the surface. This is in sharp contrast to the solace Chris Guthrie gains from a deep awareness of her connection with the land of her birth and by the cyclical nature of Change that 'might be stayed by none of the dreams of men love, hate, compassion, anger or pity, gods or devils or wild crying to the sky'.[13] Yet Stevenson rather than portraying the primitive negatively continues a theme to be found in *Jekyll and Hyde*: that it is not the primitive itself that is violent but rather its repression by civilisation that makes it so. In contrast to Gibbon's time, when the primitive culture was increasingly accepted as a valid artistic source, Stevenson's exploration of the relationship between the savage and the civilised within the context of Victorian imperialism appears increasingly prescient.

Hugh MacDiarmid's determination to start afresh and to turn away from the accomplishments of nineteenth-century literary Scots has led inevitably to critics overlooking the close thematic connections between writers like Stevenson and Gibbon. This tendency to divide Scottish writers into those who are 'true' Scots and those who are not, thereby passing over thematically complex work, detrimentally affects a critical study

[10] William K. Malcolm, *A Blasphemer and Reformer*, p.170-184.
[11] Cairns Craig, *Out of History* p. 49.
[12] Ibid., p.50.
[13] Lewis Grassic Gibbon, *A Scots Quair: Sunset Song, Cloud Howe, Grey Granite* (Canongate: Edinburgh, 1995), p.203.

such as Douglas Gifford's study of Neil Gunn and Lewis Grassic Gibbon. Gifford's introduction reinforces MacDiarmid's dismissal of the writers of the nineteenth century by stating that while the writers of the past shared the Enlightenment concept of 'the need for improvement in manners, estates and city conditions, and for "civilising" the barbaric Highlands, in developing the city-state as the right end of man's progress from primitive savagery [...] the Renaissance writers denied this programme entirely'.[14] As this thesis has sought to demonstrate, to define time periods in such a manner passes over those writers who sought to question the values Gifford outlines. Gifford also criticises those early twentieth-century writers whom he regards as promoting a false image of Scotland as 'Scottland', denying the social and political realities afflicting the country. He lists Buchan as one, along with William Black, S. R. Crockett and Neil Munro.[15] Yet several of the themes identified by Gifford as part of the programme the writers associated with the Scottish Renaissance sought to put in place instead of an Enlightenment belief in progress - the belief in a 'Golden Age', a sense of a Jungian collective consciousness, an interest in the supernatural and the use of myth - can be found permeating Buchan's work. *The Three Hostages* is a remarkable application of psychoanalytic theory to a story of the relationship between good and evil coupled with a mythic resonance that carries through the themes of decay, sacrifice and renewal. Buchan explores the themes examined by Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) and does so while remaining within the demands of the popular adventure genre. Buchan's interest in the primitive world of myth and the concept of exploring regions regarded as 'outside' history demonstrates that far from being an exile from Scottish literature his work offers a new and revealing perspective on Scottish cultural tropes. Buchan was drawing on exactly the same 'myth kitty' as that explored by the modernists, albeit for very different ideological purposes, yet there remain moments within

[14] Douglas Gifford, *Neil Gunn and Lewis Grassic Gibbon* Ibid., p.9.
[15] Ibid., p. 5.

his fiction when the world of superstition and myth serves to complicate his imperially inclined message.

By comparing a novel of Gunn's with the work of Buchan the overlapping themes between the two become increasingly evident. Gunn's *Sun Circle* (1933) focuses on a society in flux, a Celtic community facing destruction by Viking invaders. Yet the Celts are already facing disruption due to the arrival of Christianity in the form of the priest Molrua who attempts to weaken the hold of the old beliefs as represented by the Druid priest known as the Master. Although Gunn draws Molrua sympathetically, by contrasting his inflexibility with the acceptance of the Master to different forms of religious belief it is clear, as Margery McCulloch notes, that the Druid is Gunn's representative within the novel. The Master, discussing Christianity with his young follower Aniel, states:

> A young hunter comes with a piece of flesh to an old woman. She blesses him and he goes away laughing. There is neither openness nor secrecy about it. It is on the pleasant side of nature, and its emblem is mirth. By giving to the old woman you have defeated the malignant, and smile in your strength, and your heart grows warm and your youth invincible. What sort of people, then, did Christ live amongst that he had to tell them to give to the poor, and who his [sic] God that would reward them openly if they did it secretly?[16]

Here Gunn offers a contrast between the natural generosity of the ancient ways and the miserly and guilt-stricken ways of Christianity, demonstrating the potential benefits of living a life free from religious dogma. This contrast between pagan ways and Christianity to be found in *Sun Circle* bears a strong similarity to the themes of Buchan's *Witch Wood* published six years earlier. The Master preaches to the tribe in the wooded Grove, a sacred pagan site that can be paralleled with Melandrugill. The Master's fear that Christianity will see the loss of something warm and vital echoes David Sempill's realisation that the old

[16] Neil Gunn, *Sun Circle* (Edinburgh: Porpoise Press, 1933), p.117-118.

ways of his parish can co-exist peaceably with the Christian church and that their suppression can only lead to corruption and hypocrisy. The Manichean world view promoted by Molrua - the Master is referred to as Satan's follower - has led, it is suggested, to the destabilisation of the community. Although the tribe is ultimately destroyed by Viking invaders there is the sense that the arrival of Christianity had already marked the beginning of the end of a close and harmonious relationship between the Celtic community and Nature. The difficulty in ascertaining a definite time period for the events of *Sun Circle* achieves what Richard Price describes as 'an allegorical recreation of the past'.[17] As a result the novel can be read as relating to the critical moment within the 'contact zone' between cultures when a monotheistic religion such as Christianity asserts its authority over a relativistic pantheism. *Witch Wood* can be interpreted as Buchan's response to the same border state. Buchan, who displayed a fearful fascination with regions outside history cannot, despite Gifford's assertions, be easily dismissed from the study of the Scottish Renaissance.

Gunn's use of myth as a means of technical innovation, testing the boundaries of what fiction can do, also bears a close parallel with Stevenson's literary experimentation. Margery McCulloch suggests Gunn's modernist interest in myth and archetype stemmed from his deep interest in Highland oral culture rather than prevailing Jungian psychology and so points to Gunn's attempt to achieve a literature of international resonance from a particularly Scottish perspective.[18] Eventually this would led Gunn to develop a form of Highland Zen, using his own very particular experience of the Highland landscape to deepen his understanding of Eastern codes of philosophy.[19] This combination of the local and the international can be linked with Stevenson's use of Highland myth as a means of

[17] Richard Price, *The Fabulous Matter of Fact: The Poetics of Neil M. Gunn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p. 50.
[18] Margery McCulloch, *The Novels of Neil M. Gunn: a critical study* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987), pp.2-3.
[19] Neil Gunn's *The Atom of Delight*, 1956 (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1993).

connecting with the folklore of the Samoans which enabled him to create a genre of literature that intermingled the demotic with Western literary production. The local and specific becomes a way of establishing links between distant cultures while also addressing the political and social ramifications of colonialisation. The destruction of a Celtic society in *Sun Circle* carries with it the obvious resonance of the experience of the Highlands while Stevenson's 'The Bottle Imp' draws on a South Seas myth yet also provides a commentary on the economic exploitation of the area by the West. Both writers demonstrate that turning to the transhistorical world of myth does not necessarily mark an escape from contemporary society but rather can act as a means to provide a new perspective on social problems both old and new.

Due to a failure on the part of Scottish cultural commentators to recognise the complexity of Scotland's relationship to British imperialism, the work of writers like Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan has suffered ill-deserved critical neglect. Ignoring the effects Scotland's participation within the British Empire had on the imagination of writers who continue to remain popular today results in a distorted image of Scotland's literary development. To explore their work is to challenge the term 'post'-colonial as they demonstrate that even those most actively involved in the business of Empire were capable of questioning and examining the language of imperialism. Establishing the connections between writers of the past also affects readings of the recent past and present by challenging the defining terms of what it means to be a Scottish writer. Alexander Trocchi and Kenneth White are two important writers who have yet to gain full acceptance within the Scottish literary canon due to their 'outsider' status.[20] Their intellectual distance from the literary circle of their country of birth is emphasised by their

[20] See Gavin Bowd's *The Outsiders: Alexander Trocchi and Kenneth White* (Kirkcaldy: Akros, 1998) for the best analysis of the relationship of the two writers to Scottish literary debate.

geographical distance: Trocchi lived for many years in New York while White lives on the Bordeaux coast. That two important writers should be defined by their 'outsider' status illustrates the continued paradoxical nature of the 'Wandering Scot'; on the one hand praised for the international and cosmopolitan perspective, on the other critically neglected due to the challenge they pose to the defining terms of what it is to be Scottish. Trocchi and White follow in the tradition of the Travelling Scot as occupying an existential inbetween state, both outside and inside society in the manner of the Bohemian wanderings of Stevenson and Cunninghame Graham. Edward Said states:

> Once we accept the actual configuration of literary experiences overlapping with one another and interdependent, despite national boundaries and coercively legislated national autonomies, history and geography are transfigured in new maps, in new and far less stable entities, in new types of connections. Exile, far from being the fate of nearly forgotten unfortunates who are dispossessed and expatriated, becomes something closer to the norm, an experience of crossing boundaries and charting new territories in defiance of the classic canonic closures, however much its loss and sadness should be acknowledged and registered.[21]

The aim of this thesis has been to chart the new cartography of Scottish literary identity provided by closer examination of such figures as Robert Louis Stevenson, R. B. Cunninghame Graham and John Buchan, who demonstrate that the exile is not necessarily a figure of loss but one who can provide the country they have left with rich rewards.

[21] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p.385.

# A Chronological Listing of the Works of Robert Louis Stevenson

The list comprises those titles referred to in the Stevenson chapter.

*An Inland Voyage*, 1878

*Edinburgh Picturesque Notes*, 1879

*Travels with a Donkey*, 1879

*Virginibus Puerisque*, 1881

*Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, 1882

*New Arabian Nights*, 1882

*The Silverado Squatters*, 1883

*Treasure Island*, 1883

*A Child's Garden of Verses*, 1885

*More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter*, 1885

*The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, 1886

*Kidnapped*, 1886

*The Merry Men and Other Tales and Fables*, 1887

*Memories and Portraits*, 1887

*The Master of Ballantrae*, 1888

*In the South Seas*, 1890

*Ballads*, 1890

*A Footnote to History*, 1892

*Island Nights' Entertainments*, 1893

*Catriona*, 1893

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